

## MONASTIC CUSTOMARIES AND THE PROMOTION OF DGE LUGS SCHOLASTICISM IN A MDO AND BEYOND<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

The relationships that existed over multiple generations between the Wang incarnate lama lineage based at Dgon lung Monastery in Northeastern Tibet and various polities in Inner Mongolia are presented. Dgon lung Monastery in general, and the Wang Khutugtu in particular, were responsible for promoting and maintaining orthodox Dge lugs scholasticism and liturgy in Dpa' ris and beyond in Inner Mongolia. Particular attention is given to the customary composed by the Fourth Wang Khutugtu (1846-1906) for Eren Monastery in Inner Mongolia, which prescribed the system for nominating, testing, and awarding candidates for scholastic degrees.

### KEYWORDS

*bca' yig*, Buddhist monasteries, customaries, debate, Dge lugs, Dgon lung, Inner Mongolia, monastic constitutions, scholastic degrees, scholasticism, titles, Wang Khutugtu, Youning si

### INTRODUCTION

This study examines a particular *bca' yig*, 'monastic customary', composed for Eren Monastery in Inner Mongolia, and its implications for the success of the Dge lugs Sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The customary provides instructions on how to institutionalize the proper way to nominate, examine, and honor candidates for scholastic degrees. It was composed in the late nineteenth century by Wang the Fourth, a lama<sup>2</sup> from the important monastery, Dgon lung byams pa gling (Youning si), in the cultural region known as Dpa' ris (pronounced 'Huari') in A mdo (Northeastern Tibet).<sup>3</sup> Dgon lung had extensive ties with the major religious centers of Central Tibet, particularly Sgo mang College of 'Bras spungs Monastery (i.e., Drepung Gomang). As such, this study demonstrates the manner in which programs of monastic behavior – specifically, study, debate, and examination – spread across the Tibetan Plateau and Mongolia, creating networks of allegiance and a system for ensuring compliance to orthodoxy and orthopraxy.<sup>4</sup>

*Bca' yig* have been variously referred to as 'monastic constitutions', 'monastic charters', and 'monastic guidelines', though I prefer the term 'customaries' because of its flexibility. There can be 'monastic customaries' as well as various 'non-monastic customaries'. *Bca' yig* also resemble

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<sup>2</sup> I use 'lama' to refer to a revered, incarnation lineage of the Dge lugs Sect. I use the Wylie – *bla ma* – only in cases where it is necessary to distinguish a different sort of revered figure or authority figure.

<sup>3</sup> Dgon lung is located in present-day Wushi Township, Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.

<sup>4</sup> I first considered and wrote about the use of *bca' yig* as tools for imposing adherence to the Dge lugs Sect in a seminar on the Dalai Lamas taught by Professor Kurtis Schaeffer at the University of Virginia in the spring of 2009.

customaries found in the Christian monastic tradition.<sup>5</sup> Customaries purport to provide the monastery with guidelines for running the monastery and for ensuring proper comportment so as to maintain a reputation of virtue and thus ensure regular patronage. There is certainly doubt as to how much these normative texts corresponded to actual reality. For instance, much of the language found in a customary composed by Wang IV for Dgon lung Monastery is very similar (and sometimes identical) to the language found in a customary composed by the head of the aforementioned Sgo mang College for a major monastery in Alashan. Therefore, throughout this essay, I treat Wang's customaries as prescriptive rather than descriptive. Nonetheless, Wang often makes passing reference in his customaries to the way things were 'formerly' and to practices that 'used to be performed', suggesting an attempt to write a text corresponding to actual rather than idealized practices. Moreover, the fact that a monastery would regularly revise its customary or commission new ones suggests that the language found in customaries regarding the "need for a customary that accords with its time and place"<sup>6</sup> was more than just conceit.

It is important to point out that *bca' yig* were not exclusively concerned with scholastic practices such as curriculum, study, debate, examinations, and so forth. In fact, an earlier *bca' yig* written for Dgon lung Monastery, known as the 'extensive customary',<sup>7</sup> is concerned mostly with the responsibility for ritual sponsorship, the appointment of monastic officials, and the resolution of disputes and quarrels (see Sullivan 2013). The later Dgon lung customary written by Wang IV is concerned with scholasticism, but it is equally concerned with Dgon lung's liturgy, that is, its collection or sequence of texts recited during a ritual or on various religious occasions. Like scholasticism, a liturgical tradition can act as an immediate sectarian identifier for the monastery. Beyer writes in his important work on ritual practice in Tibetan Buddhism that, "...the famous Gelug reformation in Tibet was basically cultic rather than doctrinal, and it was perhaps more a canonical fundamentalism than a reformation" (1973:53-54). His contention that cultic identity was more important than doctrine for

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<sup>5</sup> Jann Ronis first suggested that I use 'customary' for '*bca' yig*'. Ellingson's 1990 article on the subject is the classic and only thorough overview of this genre. The scant Western-language material published on the subject includes Ronis (2009:156-162), Cech (1988), Ellingson (1990), Cabezón (1997), and Jansen (2014). Examples of non-monastic customaries include the *Customary for Mantrikas* by the eleventh-century Rong zom. Steve Weinberger first brought this text to my attention in 2009. A more contemporary example is the *Composition that Binds the Many Mantrikas to Discipline: A Beautiful Ornament for the Community* by an important twentieth- and twenty-first century *sngags pa* 'mantrika' from Reb kong, Ban de rgyal. Nicolas Sihle kindly shared this with me in March 2011. Finally, Jansen's recent article also explains how *bca' yig* are found in both monastic and non-monastic religious communities. Jansen is currently undertaking a comprehensive study of *bca' yig*. My conversations and correspondence with her have been extremely informative for my understanding of this genre of texts.

<sup>6</sup> 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa (1737:30b.5-6).

<sup>7</sup> The title of the text is *Dpal snar thang gi bca' yig 'dul khrims dngos brgya 'bar ba'i gzi 'od [dang / rwa sgren / dgon lung byams pa gling dgon ma lag bcas kyi bca' yig]* (The Customary of Pelnarthang – The Radiance that Illuminates All the Realities of the Vinaya – and the Customaries of the Mother and Child Monasteries of Radreng and Gönlung) and appears in volume 'a of Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa's (1696-1750) *Collected Works*. I have referred elsewhere to this as the 'Dgon lung *bca' yig* chen mo Print Edition' or 'Xylograph' in order to distinguish it from the incomplete manuscript from which I previously worked. It comprises both a *thun mong pa* 'ordinary' customary and a *thun mong ma yin pa* 'extraordinary' one. A (rather poor) scan of this was graciously sent to me by Rin chen sgrol ma of the China Tibetology Research Center. Later, I was able to photograph the xylograph at the Library of the Research Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, on the campus of Minzu University, Beijing. In addition, my teacher at Dgon lung had previously allowed me to have a manuscript copy of the 'ordinary' customary, but not the 'extraordinary' one. A monastic official told me that the monastery's customary, particularly its extraordinary version, is a *bka' rgya ma* 'sealed teaching' – only for the eyes and ears of the monastery's disciplinarians. It was also explained to me that the monastery's extraordinary customary is what defines and makes unique the monastery's practices, and thus its status. I have written more about this in Sullivan (2013).

the reformation applies equally to later periods of the Dge lugs tradition. For instance, most entries for the monasteries in Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's (1653-1705) important survey of Dge lugs monasteries conclude with something resembling the following: "[This place] resembles most small, Dge lugs monasteries with its 'ritual practices and recitations'<sup>8</sup> such as those for Guhyasamāja, Saṃvara, and the *Trilogy of Kṛṣṇācārya*<sup>9</sup>..." (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1998:311).<sup>10</sup> This indicates the continuing importance of ritual for a monastery's identity and reputation.

In addition, Dge lugs liturgy is inextricably linked to scholasticism and debate. The 'dharma classes'<sup>11</sup> held at Dge lugs monasteries are periods of reasoned debate that are the focus of all monastic energy and resources. Nonetheless, every dharma class is preceded by a devotional 'assembly'<sup>12</sup> at which tea and meals are served, and the dharma classes themselves open with a litany of hymns and rites that further set the stage. Texts that are fundamental to the scholastic curriculum are recited and melodically chanted during devotional assemblies. Debates begin and sometimes end with the ritual invocation of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī. Therefore, to completely disentangle them and separately treat each one is a task that is confounded from the start.

With that caveat in mind, I now turn to the focus of the present article, scholasticism, a term that has seldom been employed outside a Christian context. This term is often associated with the early medieval education of clerics, focused on the liberal arts and scholastic theology (Cabezón 1994:13, 17). In his book on Indo-Tibetan scholasticism, Cabezón has persuasively argued that the term has analytical value for cross-cultural and comparative studies. One of the first scholars to make this suggestion, Cabezón explains, is Masson-Oursel, who writes:

If scholasticism is a teaching that bases its authority in the words of a sacred text, interpreted by a corps of professionals dedicated both to establishing and defending a religious truth, and to that end rely on formal and discursive reasoning, it is exemplary of a stage in civilization of which our own Middle Ages cannot be considered the only example (in Cabezón 1994:15).

Although Cabezón critiques and improves Masson-Oursel's definitions of scholasticism, he extols his perspicacious advocacy for the comparative study of scholasticism.

Among the various characteristics of scholasticism identified by Cabezón, I emphasize two (1994:19-21, 190-193; Cabezón 1998:4-6). First, "scholastic movements are highly tradition oriented." He writes:

They have a strong sense of history and lineage and are committed to the preservation of tradition. ... [T]here is no better way to ensure that what an adept experiences is particularly Christian or Buddhist, or that the way in which an adept behaves is particularly Confucian or Jewish, than to ensure that the 'experiencer' has had a strong foundation in his or her respective intellectual tradition. ... (1994:20)

Elsewhere, I have discussed the great concern with maintaining ritual traditions that stretch back to Central Tibet (Sullivan 2013). Such continuity enhances the monastery's prestige, and has the practical benefit of boosting the mobility of the monks and lamas trained in those traditions. Similarly, a mega

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<sup>8</sup> *'don chos spyod*.

<sup>9</sup> *nag po [spyod pa] skor gsum*.

<sup>10</sup> '*Nag po skor gsum*' refers to three treatises by the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee, personal communication, 7 March 2012.

<sup>11</sup> *chos grwa*.

<sup>12</sup> *tshogs*.

monastery like Dgon lung shows great respect for the 'customs'<sup>13</sup> of scriptural study and debate that were established by the monastery's eminent forebears. The scriptures used at Dgon lung are ones used in the halls of Central Tibet's major monasteries. In fact, Dgon lung had formal ties with 'Bras spungs Monastery's Sgo mang College, such that 'continuing students'<sup>14</sup> of Dgon lung monks could easily travel to Central Tibet and find residence there.<sup>15</sup>

Cabezón also makes the following point about scholasticism:

Not only was rational inquiry perceived as essential to the preservation of the tradition's self-identity, it was also considered essential to distinguishing that tradition from others, to defending it against the intellectual assaults of others, and to demonstrating its relative superiority to others. (1994:21)

Philosophical debate is perhaps the foremost medium for conveying both an individual's and an institution's intellectual reputation. Lempert writes that during inter-monastery (or inter-collegiate) debates:

...curricular texts that support each college are threatened by virtue of being placed "next to" similar-but-competing texts that support a similar-but-competing neighboring college (a college that is its rival in respects other than just doctrine, to boot). This means that should the textbook literature begin to buckle during a debate, it can threaten the integrity of the whole college. This explains why a defendant's poor performance in a public defense (*dam bca'*) is not just bad for him as an individual whose career very much depends on his capacity to debate well. It may also offend the college. It risks being shameful in the maximal sense of the word (2012:36).

Dreyfus elaborates even more on the gravity of debate and scholastic allegiance:

The political character of Tibetan Buddhist schools became stronger during the protracted civil war between Central Tibet and Tsang during the sixteenth century. In that politically charged atmosphere, small doctrinal differences became markers of sectarian divides. Despite their marginal relevance to the political situation, the topics of the scholastic curriculum took on symbolic political value: knowledge of them provided a form of cultural capital that could be used to assert the supremacy of one's school. Holding the orthodox position became an expression of one's loyalty, and any deviation from the line adopted by the school came to be seen as political treason. In the Ge-luk tradition, failure to agree with the positions both of Dzong-ka-ba and of the monastic manuals is considered a sign of ingratitude if not outright betrayal, as expressed by the graphic condemnation of "kicking the bowl [from which one is fed]" (2003:319).

For this reason, even small references to debates between two individuals or vignettes of such debates found in histories and chronicles can be read as representing the reputations of different *institutions*.<sup>16</sup>

The Dge lugs Sect had developed a formal system of doctrine and a closed canon, two related

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<sup>13</sup> *srol*.

<sup>14</sup> *grwa rgyun*.

<sup>15</sup> Dgon lung monks may have stayed at the *mi tshan* 'affiliated houses' of its namesake, one at the Bsam blo khang tshan 'Bsam blo Regional House', for monks from farming communities, and another at the Har gdong khang tshan 'Har gdong Regional House', for monks from pastoral communities. Nothing is known about these affiliated houses (Tuttle 2010:57 and 57n43, citing Dreyfus' essays on 'Bras spungs Monastery on THL. Dreyfus, for his part, does not cite his source, which is likely the following: Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang chos lugs zhib 'jug tshan pa'i 'bras spungs dgon dkar chag rtsom sgrig tshogs chung [2009:237]).

<sup>16</sup> Elsewhere, I have given two such examples that I interpret as indicative of a decline in Dgon lung's intellectual reputation and a concomitant increase in the reputation of Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil Monastery (Sullivan 2013:54-55).

developments that help shield religious traditions from prophetic assault, among other things (Gorski 2005:179; Weber 1993:68-69). These developments were institutionalized and enforced at large and resourceful monasteries through the development of curriculums and systems of examination that measured monks' acquisition and knowledge of doctrine. Dgon lung documented and instantiated such a curriculum and system of examination by means of customaries (*bca' yig*), and it exported customaries to other monasteries. Whenever possible, monks who wanted any sort of scholastic education traveled to these larger monasteries, rather than staying at the smaller temple or monastery where they may have begun their monastic lives. They did this because these monasteries had the best teachers as part of its overall system of education, and also because it plugged them into a network of shared monastic practices and social mobility.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One oral tradition has it that Dgon lung housed over 7,000 monks during the Kangxi reign (1661-1722).<sup>17</sup> Although I have yet to find an historical attestation of this statistic, a Tibetan source from the time gives the more conservative figure of 1,500 monks, a figure that nonetheless made it the largest monastery in A mdo and one of the largest monasteries on the Tibetan Plateau at that time (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1998:340.25). The mid-nineteenth century Ocean Annals writes that in 1705, an important regional lama, the Sems nyid sprul sku Bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1655-~1761), made offerings to each of the assembly's 2,400 monks (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:117.8; Zhiguanba•Gongquehudaanbaraoji 1989:116).

In addition to its sheer number of monks, Dgon lung also fostered eminent scholars. In fact, historical sources dating from as early as 1652 suggest that Dgon lung was the center (later sources say 'mother') of all A mdo "monasteries where philosophy is expounded"<sup>18</sup> (Skal ldan rgya mtsho 1999a:342).<sup>19</sup> It produced at least five *lha rams pa dge bshes* (Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho:137-139), although none of these are as renowned today as the monastery's literati, authors of doctrinal treatises, religious histories, ritual manuals, and so forth. Of these authors, perhaps the most famous are Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-88), Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802), and Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786).

Dgon lung's preeminence among monasteries in A mdo ended in 1723 when the Mongol lord Lubsang-Danzin (b. 1692) led a revolt against the Qing that ended in the defeat of Lubsang-Danzin and his supporters, including Dgon lung Monastery. Utterly destroyed, it was not until 1729 that monks slowly began returning to the site of the old monastery (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:61.10). A few years later, in 1732, Emperor Yongzheng (1678-1735) issued a new name to the monastery, saying:

...the task [of reestablishing the monastery] is proclaimed accomplished, and because its old name was not elegant, a good name is decreed and established: the plaque that is bestowed reads "YOUNING SI" [lit. Monastery that Protects the Peace] (Yang 1988:845).

<sup>17</sup> The figure of 7,700 monks during the Kangxi reign even appears in *Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las* (2002:616b), though no source is given for the figure.

<sup>18</sup> *mtshan nyid bshad pa'i grwa*.

<sup>19</sup> See Skal ldan rgya mtsho's biography of Sde ba chos rje, aka Skyid shod sprul sku, where he calls Dgon lung "mdo smad kyi bshad grwa yongs kyi gtso bo dgon lung gi chos sde chen po, the center of all the commentarial schools of Mdo smad" (Skal ldan rgya mtsho 1999b:248).

The young, nearby Bla brang Monastery appears to have passed through this momentous historical event unscathed (Nietupski 2011:9, 2009:186), and its size and influence continued to grow, eventually eclipsing that of Dgon lung (Sullivan 2013:51-59).

In 1866, Dgon lung was again burned to the ground, this time by a Muslim army, purportedly that of Ma Zhan'ao (1830-1886), a 'religious teacher'<sup>20</sup> and military commander at Hezhou in Gansu Province (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:25b.6). The 1870s likewise saw the monastery plundered. Dgon lung's main assembly hall was not reconstructed until 1878, under the stewardship of the sixth Thu'u bkwan Lama. Then, in 1890, another series of events perpetuated the monastery's decline, the most significant being discord between Thu'u bkwan and Sum pa over the latter's decision to cohabitate with a Mongol girl. Louis Schram (1883-1971), a Belgian missionary who spent several years (1911-1922) in the vicinity of Dgon lung, writes that "Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung" (Schram 2006:336). Finally, in 1895, more Muslim rebellions arose, damaging many monasteries in the region and threatening, but eventually sparing, Dgon lung. This is the point at which we find Dgon lung when the fourth Wang Khutugtu, the protagonist of what follows, at his prime. It is precisely because of the ruin of the monastery during Wang's time that his actions are so important and illustrative.

#### THE AUTHOR: WANG KHUTUGTU

The text to be examined here – *The Customary of the Mirror that Illuminates [What Should Be] Accepted and Rejected*<sup>21</sup> – was composed by Wang Khutugtu Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khrims (1846-1906) for an Eren Monastery.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, we do not yet know the location of or much else about this monastery. What we do know is that Wang IV composed this customary in 1898 while traveling through Inner Mongolia. He had received an invitation from the Aohan Prince in 1896, explaining that he was needed again in the 'lower regions'.<sup>23</sup> And so, "once again, he set out for and arrived in Mongolia."<sup>24</sup> In the realm of the Prince of Baarin,<sup>25</sup> he performed many empowerments, such as that of the Sole Hero<sup>26</sup> (i.e., one of the principal Dge lugs deities, Rdo rje 'jigs byed, a form of Yamāntaka) and that of the Thirteen Deities (i.e., another manifestation of Rdo rje 'jigs byed along with his twelve-member retinue). For some four years he travelled progressively to Naiman, 'Jitir',<sup>27</sup> Darkhan, the Josotu League,<sup>28</sup> and so on. This was only a few years after the 1891 'Way of the Golden Elixir'<sup>29</sup> uprising that killed tens of thousands of Mongols and otherwise devastated Mongol society in precisely the regions where Wang IV was traveling (Borjigin 2004). Thus, it is quite plausible that the customary

<sup>20</sup> *ahong*.

<sup>21</sup> *Bca' yig blong dor gsal ba'i me long*.

<sup>22</sup> *'e ren*. It is spelled differently in the colophon: *e'u rin*.

<sup>23</sup> *smad phyogs*.

<sup>24</sup> *sog yul* – note that the author writes '*sog yul*' rather than '*chen po hor kyi yul*'. I am unable to explain this change in nomenclature.

<sup>25</sup> *pa ren*. This is a reference to one of the Baarin banners in Juu Uda League (Charleux 2012). Moreover, given that the Tibetan refers to this figure as a *wang* (< Ch. *wang* , 'prince'), it is likely he refers to the banner of Jasag Tōri Junwang of Baarin/ Pārin (Dharmatāla 1987:42).

<sup>26</sup> Rdo rje 'jigs byed.

<sup>27</sup> Unidentified. Pu, in the Chinese translation, writes Zhalute, which is Chinese for the Jarud 'tribe' (Mo. *aimag*) (Duo and Pu 1990:159; Lattimore 1969:194).

<sup>28</sup> Josotu League comprised five banners, including the Kharachin banners and the two Tūmed banners as indicated in Map 1.

<sup>29</sup> Jindan dao.

he wrote was an attempt to resurrect Dge lugs scholasticism in the region.

The Wang incarnation lineage is perhaps the least renowned of Dgon lung's five major incarnation lineages and 'estates',<sup>30</sup> the other four being Lcang skya, Thu'u bkwan, Sum pa, and Chu bzang. The lineage is said to be named after the village in which the first Wang lama was born, Wang chen khri.<sup>31</sup> The scholar-lama Per Nyi ma 'dzin writes that the first Wang was born into a Hor family with the surname Wang.<sup>32</sup> Despite the Chinese-sounding name of the lineage, four of the incarnations were likely Hor, and the third, may have been Tibetan (Per Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho:99-114).<sup>33</sup> The name 'Wang' likely derives from the Wang Tusi, *tusi* being a title used to refer to the semi-autonomous 'indigenous rulers' that submitted to the Ming and later Qing dynasties in exchange for recognition of their right to rule (Yang 1988:609). The ancestor of the Wang Tusi, Nanmuge, submitted to the Ming in the fourth year of the Hongwu reign (1371). He was made an 'Assistant Commander'<sup>34</sup> and was promoted to 'Vice Battalion Commandant of Ningbo'.<sup>35</sup> The area that the Wang Tusi came to rule appears to be in the vicinity of Wang I's birthplace (Huzhu Tuzu zizhi xian zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1993:625; Qinghai sheng zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1987:280; Qinghai sheng bianji zu 1985:2; Schram 2006:127).<sup>36</sup> Since families that were ruled by the Wang Tusi took the Wang name regardless of their ancestral descent lines, it is impossible to know if Wang I was born into the *tusi*'s own family, the family of one of the noble households, or one of the many commoner households. According to Schram, the great majority of families surnamed Wang were "of Monguor extraction" (Schram 2006:127).<sup>37</sup> In any case, the ethnicity of the Wang incarnation lineage is not nearly as significant as the proximity of each of the incarnations had to the 'Great Mongol Realm'.

Schram writes that Wang I's predecessor was a lama from a Kharachin banner (Schram 2006:321). The Kharachin banners straddle the contemporary Liaoning Province and Inner Mongolia border (see Map 1 below). Schram's uncited source was probably an informant from the time he spent in the vicinity of Dgon lung Monastery (i.e., 1911-1922; in Schram 2006:86). Therefore, we cannot corroborate this curious suggestion. However, we do know that Wang II – Skal bzang ye shes dar rgyas (1739-1804) and Wang IV, our author – both spent many years traveling to and living in Kharachin.

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<sup>30</sup>  *nang chen*.

<sup>31</sup> According to the editors of the *Youning si zhi*, Wang I's birthplace is present-day Xiaosi ('Little Monastery') Village in Weiyuan Township, Huzhu County. Per Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho's history, on the other hand, gives 'ta si' (< Dasi Village, 'Big Monastery' Village), which he writes is part of one of Dgon lung's former western estates (Duo and Pu 1990:121n247; Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho:99).

<sup>32</sup> 'Wang skyA' might also refer to a village name. However, it is clear that Per Nyi ma 'dzin is identifying ta si as the place name and Wang as the family name. The Tibetan term 'Hor' is used in present-day A mdo to refer to the officially recognized 'ethnic group' known as 'Tu' in Chinese and 'Monguor' in English. Slater distinguishes between Minhe County Monguor whom he calls 'Mangghuers' and Huzhu County Monguor, whom he calls 'Mongghuls' (Slater 2003:9-10). It is unclear that we can safely use these ethnonyms to refer to those people and places our historical texts refer to as Hor. However, I consider the historical term Hor to refer to a Mongolic people and culture – a people and culture that finds their way into an encyclopedia of Mongolia (Atwood 2004:551-552). Ahmad calls the Hor 'Eastern Mongols' as opposed to Sog 'Western Mongols' (1970:110). I thank Gerald Roche for calling my attention to this latter point.

<sup>33</sup> Nyi ma 'dzin tells us that the first, second, and fifth were Mongghul, but does not specify the ethnicity of the fourth, although we know that the latter was born near Sems nyid Monastery. It is unclear what Nyi ma 'dzin's sources are for identifying the ethnicities of the various Wang incarnations, particularly the earlier incarnations.

<sup>34</sup> *zhahui qianshi*.

<sup>35</sup> *Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu*.

<sup>36</sup> Schram cites the *Gansu xin tongzhi*, ch. (*juan* 42:40b, 41a-b). Based on the scanned version I consulted, the section describing the domain of the Wang Tusi is actually on p42a. See also An (1989).

<sup>37</sup> Schram cites the Qing *Gansu xin tongzhi* where it states that the Wang Tusi oversees "eighteen Fan [Tibetan] households and 130 Tumin [Monguor] households" (*juan* 42:42a). The eighteenth-century *Huang Qing zhigong tu* likewise speaks of Tumin under the rule of the Wang Tusi (Fu 2007:*juan* 5:52-53).

Some time after returning from his studies in Central Tibet and ascending the throne of Dgon lung's Tantric College (in 1764), Wang II was told by Lcang skya III Rol pa'i rdo rje to spread the dharma in the realm of the Kharachin Prince Ratna Siddhi (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:18a.3). This is probably the same prince whose son, the *lha rams pa* scholar *Lha btsun* Mthu stobs nyi ma (*fl.* 1778-1800), began his monastic career at Dgon lung before later serving as abbot at both 'Bras spungs Sgo mang and Dgon lung itself.<sup>38</sup> For several years, Wang II satisfied the religious needs of the people, both high and low, of the 'Great Mongol Realm' including both the Kharachin banners and the neighboring Aohan banner (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:66.15; Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:18a.3). When Emperor Qianlong (1711-1799) was invited to "the famous temple of Erpü<sup>39</sup> in the realm of the Kharachin Prince," we are told:

... the emperor heard of the virtue of Wang II's greatness. The emperor looked kindly upon him, 'paid him reverence',<sup>40</sup> and bestowed on him both a superior golden 'offering scarf'<sup>41</sup> and a golden brocade. He also awarded him with the title of Khutugtu (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:18a.4).

Eventually, Wang II returned to Dgon lung, where he served as abbot for three years (1785-1788). He is said to have donated many items to an endowment of Dgon lung, including a large statue of the 'Lion's Roar of Shakyamuni', a large Maitreya tapestry worth over 10,000 ounces<sup>42</sup> of silver, and pillar pendants made of the finest silk. He also pressed Thu'u bkwan to establish a 'trust'<sup>43</sup> for the 'monks' tea' and 'cash allowances'<sup>44</sup> necessary for the 'dharma class students'.<sup>45</sup> He then received an invitation from the Aohan Prince and returned to the latter's realm where he preached. He also preached in the territories of Kharachin, Tümed, Ongni'ud, Naiman, Khorchin, Darkhan,<sup>46</sup> and other banners (see Map 2 below) (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho, 1932:19a.5). On one journey through Aohan, he printed the *Four Interwoven Annotations on Tsong kha pa's Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:66.15).<sup>47</sup> Altogether, Wang II is said to have visited the Great Mongol Realm five or six times.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> He was the forty-fourth abbot of Sgo mang College, taking the throne in 1792 (Bstan pa bstan 'dzin 2003:114). He served as abbot of Dgon lung from 1799-1800 (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:69.8). See also Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho (1932:20a.4).

<sup>39</sup> Unidentified. 'Erpü' may be a transliteration of 'Efü,' meaning 'emperor's son-in-law' (Charleux 2012).

<sup>40</sup> *phyag*.

<sup>41</sup> *mdzod thag < mdzod btags*.

<sup>42</sup> *srang*.

<sup>43</sup> *theb*.

<sup>44</sup> *grwa 'gyed*.

<sup>45</sup> *chos grwa pa*.

<sup>46</sup> *T. tar han*, appears to refer to the banner of the 'Khorchin Khoshuu of Jasag Khøshø Darhan Jinwang', also known as 'Darqan wang' of Jerim League (Dharmatāla 1987:428; Charleux 2003:364). I thank Professor Isabelle Charleux for confirming this identification (Charleux 2012).

<sup>47</sup> The entire title of this text is *mnyam med rje btsun tsong kha pa chen pos mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim chen mo'i dka' ba'i gnad rnams mchan bu bzhi'i sgo nas legs par bshad pa theg chen lam gyi gsal sgron* (TBRC W29037).

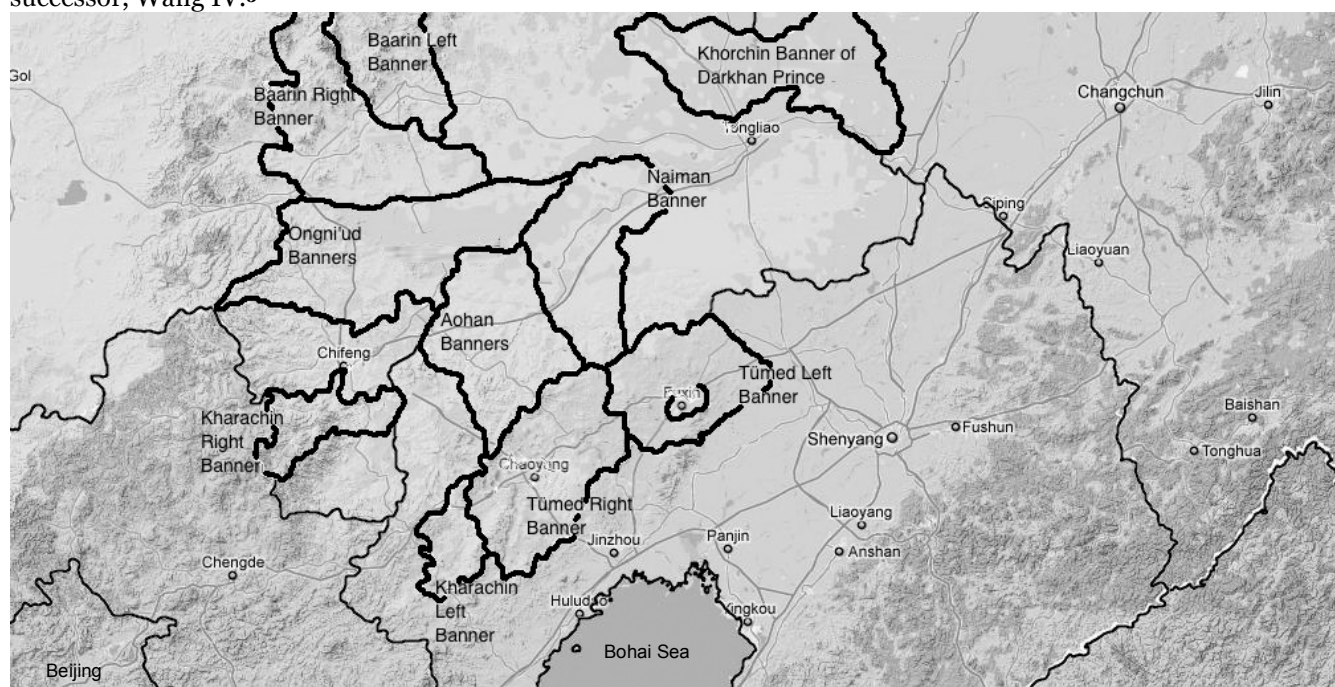
<sup>48</sup> Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho (1932:19a.5).



Map 1. Dgon lung Monastery in the west and the approximate location of two of the three Kharachin banners<sup>49</sup> that existed during Wang II's time. Kharachin Center Banner is located between Right and Left banners.<sup>50</sup>



Map 2. The approximate location of the banners in the 'Great Mongol Realm' visited by Wang II and his successor, Wang IV.<sup>51</sup>



<sup>49</sup> For more precise maps showing the location of these banners see Lattimore and Isono (1982) and Lattimore (1969). Atwood (2004) and Charleux (2006) have useful, less detailed maps.

<sup>50</sup> Generated using the THL Place Dictionary, places.thlib.org, and revised and improved with the help of Gerald Roche.

<sup>51</sup> Generated using the THL Place Dictionary, and revised and improved with the help of Gerald Roche.

His successor twice removed, Wang IV, likewise spent many years preaching and living in these areas. Although we know little about the ethnicity of this incarnation, we do know that he was born in Khu lung near Sems nyid Monastery, in present-day Menyuan Hui Autonomous County, Qinghai Province. Sems nyid Monastery sits along the Julak River (T. 'Ju lag; Ch. Datong he, Haomen he), situated between the Qilian Mountains to the north and the Daban Mountains to the south, the latter being the steep precipices dividing Menyuan County from Huzhu County where Dgon lung is located. From early in its history, Sems nyid Monastery had close ties with Dgon lung. For instance, Dgon lung 'cantors'<sup>52</sup> were sent to Sems nyid on several occasions during the first few decades following its founding to teach the Sems nyid monks how to recite, chant, and sing the liturgy and the proper manner for playing ritual music (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:113.18; Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Tianzhu Zangzu zizhi xian weiyuanhui and Kong 2000:208; Zhiguanba 1989:113). This is one reason Sems nyid came to be referred to as a branch monastery of Dgon lung.

Wang IV's father was a certain 'Mantra-holder'<sup>53</sup> Dkon mchog skyabs (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:28a.2), suggesting that Wang IV was born into a family with a religious occupation. His older brother was the fifth Smin grol Nom-un Qan,<sup>54</sup> otherwise known as the Btsan po *Nom-un Qan*, Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho (b. 1839) (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:28.4; Duo and Pu 1990:201n175). The Smin grol Nom-un Qan lineage was based at Gser khog Monastery. Though Gser khog was founded by a former abbot of Dgon lung, it soon began competing aggressively with Dgon lung for power and influence. The Smin grol lineage, which also possibly consisted of ethnic Hor (Lobsang Yongdan 2012), is yet another example of Mongols in powerful positions at this time.

In 1853, the young Wang IV was invited to Dgon lung where he was enthroned with much ceremony at his 'palace' known as Bkra shis 'bum 'khyil. Eleven years later, at the age of nineteen (eighteen in Western reckoning), Wang's fame spread far and wide, and he thus received a special invitation from the Aohan Prince to preach the dharma in his land. In the Wood-Rat year (1864), he left for the prince's "great palace that promotes glory and wealth in this world and beyond," where he spent twelve years (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:28b.5). There:

...in that realm, with the help of the prince, [Wang IV] nourished the individual, religious longings of countless wandering beings, providing the kind [teachings] of the dharma, such as great tantric empowerments for the Sole Hero, Tutelary Deity of Mount Dge ldan [i.e. Dge lugs], and of the Thirteen Deities. As all the hopeful wandering beings were benefited and pleased, he breathed life into all.

Here, in the words of Wang IV's biographer (his successor Wang V Ngakwang Khyenrap Gyatso [1906-1963]), we see an explicit reference to Wang IV's Dge lugs evangelism.

He again exhibited this desire to promote Dge lugs practice when he returned to Dgon lung in 1876. As noted above, Dgon lung had been burnt to the ground in 1866, and it continued to struggle through many years of strife in the 1870s. An important turning point in the monastery's modern history appears to be when the Precious Tutor of Thu'u bkwan, Bstan pa rgya mtsho (1825-1897), was invited to Dgon lung in 1878. He was welcomed by Thu'u bkwan, Sum pa, and Wang himself, and was moved to tears by the pleas of all the Dgon lung monks and lamas. They described how the monastery

<sup>52</sup> *dbu mdzad*.

<sup>53</sup> *sngags 'chang*.

<sup>54</sup> T. *no mon han*. The term is Mongolian for 'ruler of the dharma'. Note that it has nothing to do with another Mongolian term, '*nomuqan*', which means 'gentle' or 'peaceful' and was the name given to Qubilai Qa'an's (Kublai Khan) son. My sincere thanks to Christopher Atwood for bringing this to my attention and correcting it in this article. Personal communication (19 September and 16 November 2014).

had been ravaged by warfare and called him 'He Who Incites the Flame of the Dge ldan'<sup>55</sup> (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:27a.4). He gave numerous 'permission-blessings',<sup>56</sup> transmissions, empowerments, and so on. The next year, in 1879, Wang IV took the abbatial throne of Dgon lung.<sup>57</sup>

Major events that Wang oversaw as abbot of Dgon lung included the search for and identification of the reincarnation of Lcang skya V, Lcang skya VI Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho (1875-1890?) (Duo and Pu 1990:203n199, 228). Wang IV was requested to take charge of this task, which he did, we are told, "in accordance with the prophecies from 'Central Tibet',<sup>58</sup> the name roster of the 'great yellow edict' [of the emperor],<sup>59</sup> and so forth" (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:30a.2). This curious inclusion highlights the political position Dgon lung held between the Qing court and the Dga' ldan pho brang government in Lhasa.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, as abbot, Wang IV is said to have vigorously promoted 'debate classes'<sup>61</sup> and to have overseen all the activities of the exoteric and esoteric teachings, such as the monastery's liturgy (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:29b.4).

When Wang IV tried to resign in 1882, the monastery's major lama, the 'dharma kings'<sup>62</sup> from the surrounding communities,<sup>63</sup> and the monks pleaded with him to continue as abbot. He then served another year before resigning in 1883. Wang continued serving Dgon lung Monastery in various ways. Two years later in 1885, he composed the Dgon lung customary *The Profound and Secret Golden Key of a Hundred Doors to [Buddhist] Treatises*, to which we shall turn when attempting to interpret his Eren Monastery customary and fill in the lacunae in that text. In 1895, "the evil, barbarian/Mohammedan<sup>64</sup> forces" were on the rise and threatening the safety of Dgon lung. Due to Wang's hard work and prayers, "the monastery's protector, the Chinese army, came from Xining." Thus, "the emperor and altruistic councilors used power, strength, [and] vajra weapons to utterly vanquish without remainder the 'demonic army from the dark side,'<sup>65</sup>" and Dgon lung was saved from harm (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho, Wang V [1906-1963] 1932:32a.1).

In 1896, Wang IV returned to Inner Mongolia where he composed the Eren Monastery customary. In 1899, he returned to Dgon lung, whereupon, like his predecessor Wang II, he contributed significantly to the monastery's 'endowment'<sup>66</sup> and gave goods, tea, noodles, and cash to each of the monastery's monks. In 1900, the 'monastic council'<sup>67</sup> asked him to serve again as abbot, to which he consented, serving for one year. He passed away in 1906.

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<sup>55</sup> *dge ldan bstan 'bar ma'i dbu bskul ba*.

<sup>56</sup> *rjes gnang*.

<sup>57</sup> Surprisingly, it was at this point that Wang IV, along with some fifty others, finally took full monastic vows (Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho 1932:29b.6-30a.2).

<sup>58</sup> *dbus gtsang*.

<sup>59</sup> *gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang*.

<sup>60</sup> The Dalai Lama is also known to have issued decrees on yellow brocades (Nornang 1990:261-262). However, a '*gser yig*' seems to refer more directly to the Manchu emperor's decree.

<sup>61</sup> *rtsod grwa*.

<sup>62</sup> *chos rje*.

<sup>63</sup> The text names Sha bar chos rje, Ba bOng chos rje, and Phyug rtse chos rje all refer to places in the vicinity of Dgon lung. It is likely that Sha bar chos rje was also the 'Sha bar nang so' (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:77.25). The title of *nang so* "consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship" (Schram 2006:306-307). Moreover, some local *chos rje* may have been non-monastic figures. For instance, some *chos rje* are referred to as *lha pa* 'spirit mediums', which often are non-monastic figures (Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma 2000:646/7b.5, 650/9b.3). The first page number (e.g., 646) refers to the page numbers given the text by a later editor, whereas the latter (e.g., 7b.5) refers to the page number found printed in Tibetan in the margin of the text.

<sup>64</sup> *kla glo < kla klo*.

<sup>65</sup> *pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs*.

<sup>66</sup> *spyi 'jog*.

<sup>67</sup> *dgon pa spyi*.

## THE CUSTOMARY FOR EREN MONASTERY:

### "THE MIRROR THAT ILLUMINATES [WHAT IS TO BE] ACCEPTED AND [WHAT IS TO BE] REJECTED"

Om. May there be happiness and well-being! I prostrate before [my] lamas and Mañjuśrī!

Here at this Eren Monastery, for the purpose of increasing the learning of disciples, the one called Wang Khutugtu, with the purest of intentions, at the time of the establishment of the new degree of *rdo ram pa*, wrote down some notes on the steps of the system of granting degrees, of carrying out formal debates [defenses], of examinations, and so on.

First, on an auspicious day, either the 'head of the college',<sup>68</sup> the disciplinarians of the great assembly, or the disciplinarians of the colleges – whoever is appropriate – consults with the 'abbot'<sup>69</sup> and confer together, whereupon they are to nominate [the candidate for the degree of *rdo rams pa*] while [offering him] ceremonial scarves. Then, at that time, [the candidate] is given an 'evaluation'<sup>70</sup> of the Perfection of Wisdom up to the topic of 'lineage'<sup>71</sup> in the first chapter [of the *Ornament of Realization*]<sup>72</sup> and an evaluation of the Madhyamaka up through Establishment and Refutation.<sup>73</sup> On the third day of the first month, [the disciplinarian] must proclaim the need for a formal debate.

As for the testing,<sup>74</sup> on one [day] at the end of the fourth month, a request is made to the venerable abbot, the college *bla ma*, the disciplinarian of the great assembly, the college disciplinarian, and the director of studies. On the following day, [the examinee] is invited to the 'abbatial villa',<sup>75</sup> and two servings of tea must be given. Each is then given a ceremonial scarf.

As for debating, for periods of three days in both the first and sixth months,<sup>76</sup> debate from the colors<sup>77</sup> of red and white [i.e., from the beginning Collected Topics material] to Vinaya [i.e., the most advanced material]. While this is being done, it is permissible for the upper-classmen to 'drill'<sup>78</sup> [the examinee]. During the Great Formal Debate,<sup>79</sup> custom is that the upper-classmen lead [in questioning the examiners].<sup>80</sup> No matter which of the five treatises one is reasoning over,<sup>81</sup> other than the words 'the reasoning is [or is not] connected',<sup>82</sup> when debating, no other interruptions to the assembly are allowed. The questioners 'team up',<sup>83</sup> however, other than establishing points of

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<sup>68</sup> *grwa tshang bla ma*.

<sup>69</sup> *bla ma khri pa*.

<sup>70</sup> *rdung rgyugs* – the manuscript reads '*rdung rgyug*'.

<sup>71</sup> *rigs*.

<sup>72</sup> *mngon rtogs rgyan*. I thank Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee for explaining this to me. Personal communication (February 2012). Jongbok Yi, after consulting with Jeffrey Hopkins, explains that this is known as the *rang bzhin gnas rigs* 'naturally abiding lineage' (Yi 2012).

<sup>73</sup> *thal zlog* – the manuscript reads '*thal srog*'. Jongbok Yi, after consulting with Jeffrey Hopkins, informed me this is likely a misspelling of '*thal zlog*' (Yi 2012). See Thub bstan lung rtogs rnam rgyal 'phrin las (1983:48, 60n22).

<sup>74</sup> *rgyugs* – the manuscript reads '*rgyug*'.

<sup>75</sup> *khri ba bla brang*.

<sup>76</sup> *zla ba dang po'i [sic] drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum gyi ring la*. The genitive particle connecting '*dang po*' and '*drug ba*' appears to be a mistake.

<sup>77</sup> A parenthetical remark in small, cursive script is found here. The first part of the line is illegible. The latter part reads "...do this at night. As for the method of taking the test, it is like in the past."

<sup>78</sup> *skyor*.

<sup>79</sup> *dam bca' chen mo*.

<sup>80</sup> '*dzin grwa gong nas bzhed srol yod*'. The meaning of this line is obscure. It could be that an elderly monk from Dgon lung would be able to recall the 'custom' of examination that Wang IV is writing about here, but I have not yet had the occasion to ask.

<sup>81</sup> *thal 'phen* – to point out the absurd consequences of an opponent's assertion or thesis. As such, it is synonymous with the '*thal 'phreng*'.

<sup>82</sup> *rtag gsal khyab*.

<sup>83</sup> *tshogs*.

scripture and reason, other responses are not to be made at any time. [The examinees] must debate [lit. "say 'there is' (or 'there is not) any connection'"] on each of the five treatises. At each assembly, the 'director of studies'<sup>84</sup> asks questions regarding the Vinaya ...<sup>85</sup> In addition, if spare time is needed to ask any [other] question, it should be asked.<sup>86</sup> As the assembly ends, [the exam] is complete. After the director of studies presents an 'extensive recitation',<sup>87</sup> the two [i.e., the director and the examinee<sup>88</sup>] recite the seed syllable of Mañjuśrī and then disperse.

Here I have prepared a brief set of instructions to act as an outline. I thought that a detailed one would be too long and confusing, and so I did not write one. In any case, [one] should not transgress the objective of the Teachings and the Buddhist Vinaya. So doing, may the protector deities and wisdom deities remain vigilant, watching for the appearance of the evil accomplices, the disturbers [of peace] – anger, envy, and desire.

This was written by the one called Wang Khutugtu Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho on an auspicious day during the waxing moon of the tenth month of the Earth-Male-Dog year [1898] while staying at Eren Monastery, the upper and lower stories of the Great Assembly Hall. May all benefits quickly and forever go to the Teachings and sentient beings! May this lend to the continuing presence of the Teachings of the Omniscient Victor!<sup>89</sup> ...<sup>90</sup>

## EXPLANATION OF THE TEXT

There is great consistency between the system of debate, testing, and awarding degrees that is prescribed here and that set down for Dgon lung. This is not surprising, given that Wang IV is the author of the customary at Eren and of one of Dgon lung's two extant customaries. The point is that Dgon lung lamas – in this case Wang IV – penned such customaries and traveled to such monasteries, thus *exporting a standardized scholastic system*.

In fact, knowledge of Dgon lung's administration and examination system helps us interpret the rather terse customary written for Eren Monastery. Although caution must be exercised in making too many assumptions about the similarities that may have existed between the two institutions, doing so is justified due to the fact that Wang IV also penned one of Dgon lung's own customaries. In addition, the schedule of events and the terminology found in the Eren customary is strikingly similar to that found at other Dge lugs monasteries, including Dgon lung.

The most conspicuous difference between the two systems is that, at Eren Monastery, Wang IV is inaugurating the conferment of *rdo rams pa* degrees rather than *dka' bcu* degrees, as was the case at Dgon lung. This is simply the result of time. When Dgon lung established its system of conferring *dka' bcu* degrees, the custom of awarding *rdo rams pa* degrees did not yet exist on the Tibetan Plateau (Dreyfus 2003:144-5; Tarab 2000:18-19). A candidate for degree at Dgon lung was referred to as *gling bsres ba* 'examinee among mixed communities'<sup>91</sup> as one who completes the *grwa skor* 'academic

<sup>84</sup> *gzhung las pa*.

<sup>85</sup> The actual meaning of the text here – '*dul ba'i bkod gzhung rgyas pa* – is unclear. It is likely not the 'Dul ba'i mdo tsa ba by Guṇaprabha (Yon tan 'od), since it does not appear to go by this title.

<sup>86</sup> *de'i 'phror gang len zhiḡ tu long dgos babs la ltas nas longs*.

<sup>87</sup> *tshig sgra rgyas pa*.

<sup>88</sup> Another possibility is that 'the two' refers to two examinees. Dreyfus (2003:235) mentions occasions during which two defenders would face an entire assembly of interrogators.

<sup>89</sup> This might refer to the Dalai Lama, although it may also refer to Tsong kha pa.

<sup>90</sup> There is a final line that reads "*d+ha rma bu ti lba rta*." If the '*lba*' is an error for '*lnga*,' then this may very tentatively be translated as "Recite [*? rta*] the Five Scriptures of the Dharma!"

<sup>91</sup> Dreyfus writes that this title may have been created at Sangphu Monastery (gsang phu) (2003:366n74). See

circuit' and simply as 'degree candidate' (T. *ming btags pa*, lit. title-holder, or one [seeking a] title). From early in its history, Dgon lung awarded the title/ degree of *dka' bcu* (*gling bsres dka' bcu*), literally "the one [having mastered] ten texts," or "ten difficulties."<sup>92</sup> According to the *Ocean Annals*, Dgon lung's branch monastery of Sems nyid petitioned the 'government' of Lhasa<sup>93</sup> through the Precious Rgyal sras Lama (i.e., 'Jigs me ye shes grags pa (1696-1750), the author of Dgon lung's earlier, 'extensive' customary<sup>94</sup>), requesting to establish the system of awarding the *dka' bcu* degree at Sems nyid Monastery "like Dgon lung."<sup>95</sup> Perhaps it was the previous incarnation of this Precious Rgyal sras Lama (i.e., Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, ca. 1638-1696), or the founder of Dgon lung himself, Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho (death ca. 1637), who likewise established the system of awarding degrees at Dgon lung. In any case, '*rdo rams pa*' appears to be a later term that replaced older degree titles such as '*dka' bcu*' (Dreyfus 2003:144-145).

The most confusing aspects of Eren's customary are its schedule of examination and the extensive array of terms employed in the text to describe the examination system: *rdung rgyugs* 'evaluation', *dam bca'* 'formal debate', *rgyugs* 'testing', *dam bca' chen mo* 'Great Formal Debate', *rtag gsal khyab* "say 'there is' (or 'there is no) connection', and so on. In fact, monastic customs are full of specialized terminology pertaining to different aspects of debate and debate practices (e.g., *rtsod zla*, *tshogs gleng*, *bsgro gleng*, *zla po byed*). The meaning of Eren's customary is made clearer by reference to Dgon lung Monastery and to the customs found at Dge lugs monasteries in Central Tibet.

It is useful to understand that the examination system prescribed for Eren, like that in place at Dgon lung, consisted of four major phases: regular testing, nomination for candidacy, continued testing, and the defense. The latter was the formal event at which the candidate, already thoroughly vetted by his superiors and his peers, would take part in a *dam bca' chen mo* 'Great Formal Debate', displaying his erudition to the assembly of monks and earning his degree.

Testing was a regular, required component of the curriculum for the monks who were enrolled in the monastery's dharma classes for the study of exoteric, philosophical doctrine, and debate. Monks were regularly reviewed by the abbot himself by means of recitation lessons.<sup>96</sup> During these lessons, the abbot recited the relevant section from the text being learned to the 'class rehearsal leader',<sup>97</sup> who repeated what the abbot had recited (Dreyfus 2003:251, 388n50). The class rehearsal leader subsequently went through the text with the rest of his class. There were also tests associated with the recitation lessons<sup>98</sup> that determined whether one stayed at their current level and, for those nearing the

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also Tarab Tulku (2000).

<sup>92</sup> Sems nyid sprul sku bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho earned the latter in 1677 (Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982:115.25). See also Thu'u bkwan III Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (2000:739/49a.5); Sagaster (1967:43); Qinghai sheng bianji zu (1985:49); and Dreyfus (2003:144). The definition of *dka' bcu* given in the *Bod Rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 'Great Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary' (2008:50b) does not refer to "difficulties" but only to "five scriptures [*bka'*] along with their commentaries." (It also says that this was a title awarded to successful candidates at Bkra shis lhun po Monastery in Central Tibet). Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (2002:127) provides a similar gloss. The spelling of this term is inconsistent in the historical record; it is often given as *bka' bcu* and sometimes even *ka bcu*.

<sup>93</sup> This probably refers to the Dalai Lama's villa at 'Bras spung Monastery.

<sup>94</sup> This customary focuses primarily on such issues as responsibility for ritual sponsorship, the appointment of monastic officials, and the resolution of disputes and quarrels (see Sullivan 2013). In contrast, the later customary by Wang IV deals strictly with Dgon lung's scholastic curriculum, its manner of debate, and its liturgical schedule during the spring *chos thog* 'dharma/ study/ debate sessions'.

<sup>95</sup> Brag dgon zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos byung* (117.21-23).

<sup>96</sup> *brtsi bzhag*.

<sup>97</sup> *skyor dpon*.

<sup>98</sup> *rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs*.

completion of their studies, if they were fit to stand for degree exams in the summer.

The extensive customary of Dgon lung makes it clear that recitation lessons were a nonnegotiable component of monastic education and that all but the credentialed *dka'rams*<sup>99</sup> scholars and some who had been attending dharma class for several years were required to take these tests at every dharma session ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:25b.3-4 and 31b.3).<sup>100</sup> "If one does not understand these things and forsakes [such] listening and thinking," the author writes:

If he seeks out piecemeal *sadhanas*,<sup>101</sup> [ritual explanatory] 'individualized teachings',<sup>102</sup> and 'pith instructions',<sup>103</sup> then he should know that he is turning his back on the intention of great scholar-practitioners such as the Second Victor, the Great Tsong kha pa. During dharma classes one is not to go elsewhere to listen to the dharma...<sup>104</sup>

Recitation lessons were not to be interrupted for any reason except especially important village rituals at which the abbot was needed to officiate.<sup>105</sup> This older customary also instructs the monks to practice their recitations for as long as possible.<sup>106</sup>

Apart from these reviews by the abbot, the daily debate practice was monitored by the disciplinarians of the monastery, who made tours around the debate courtyard. Students' practice was monitored even during the breaks from dharma sessions.<sup>107</sup> Wang IV's customary for Dgon lung explains how the disciplinarians were to make nightly rounds around the monastery to inspect the young monks, who sat on the rooftops of their residences to study,<sup>108</sup> tirelessly reciting their lessons. They struck a wooden block or some other instrument to alert the young monks to their approach.<sup>109</sup>

The Eren customary does not specify when nominations of degree candidates were to take

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<sup>99</sup> This is probably an abbreviation for *dka'bcu rab 'byams pa* 'the universally learned one who has mastered the ten difficulties [or texts]'. Alternatively, this could be a compound for *dka'bcu* scholars together with *rab 'byams* scholars. *Rab 'byams pa* 'universally learned one' is a title commonly awarded by monasteries to successful candidates. '*Dka'rams*' is also written '*dka'ram*'.

<sup>100</sup> The latter passage ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:31b.3) is as follows: "*chos thog snga ma'i rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs chos thog rjes mar dka'ram ma gtog pa thams cad la len zhing ...*" The precise meaning of this is unclear, but it may indicate recitation-lesson tests of the earlier dharma sessions (i.e., earlier in the year) were administered at the later dharma sessions for all but the *dka'rams* scholars. Moreover, it could mean that the First Spring Dharma Session goes on without such tests, whereas the following dharma sessions have them. The Seventh Dalai Lama tells us that at 'Bras spungs Monastery's Sgo mang College in the 1660s, recitation lessons were incredibly long and took place even during the *chos mtshams* 'dharma breaks'. This was too arduous for students, however, and eventually the recitation lessons were shortened and conducted only during dharma sessions (Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Khri chen spul pa'i sku blo bzang stan pa'i nyi ma dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa*, 1745 (1977):357/15b.1-359/16b.1-3).

<sup>101</sup> *lha'i sgrub thabs*.

<sup>102</sup> *khrid*.

<sup>103</sup> *man ngag*.

<sup>104</sup> Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa (1737:23b.6-24a.2).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 12a.3-4.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 11a.4-5.

<sup>107</sup> The extensive customary of Dgon lung also explains that all visiting and resident monks over the age of twenty had to take written exams (*yig rgyugs*) at every one of the dharma sessions ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:31b.3). It is not clear, however, what these 'written exams' entailed. They may have been the same as the recitation lesson reviews by the abbot. In this case, a better translation would be 'reading exam' or 'exam of the memorization of a text'. See also the reference to 'written exam takers' in Wang IV's customary for Dgon lung (3b.4).

<sup>108</sup> Dgon lung informant (personal communication 2012).

<sup>109</sup> Schram suggests that they cracked whips during their rounds (2006:374): "At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms."

place, only saying that they occur "on an auspicious day" some time before the third day of the first month. Thus, by the time the new year had rolled around and preparations were under way for the first major dharma session, i.e., the Great Spring Dharma Session, the monastery's disciplinarians and abbot had to have a clear idea of the competency of the students. In the first month at Dgon lung, for instance, the disciplinarians are said to have presented the roster of dharma class students to the abbot. That practice bears a great resemblance to the process of nominating a degree candidate at Eren. On the seventeenth day of the first lunar month, Dgon lung's two 'disciplinarians'<sup>110</sup> are to offer 'merit scarves'<sup>111</sup> to the abbot, "along with the list of names of the 'dharma class students."<sup>112</sup> "A 'petitioning scarf'<sup>113</sup> and a 'last offering scarf'<sup>114</sup> for the abbot are both taken from the [monastery's] 'common property.'"<sup>115</sup> The prepared list of dharma class students is formally presented by the twenty-third day of the month (Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khriims 1885:2b.2). Nominations for degree candidates at both Dgon lung and Eren may have been considered by the abbot around this same time, that is, during the first month of the year.

The Eren customary also mentions an evaluation that coincides with the nomination of candidates at Eren. There is no explicit mention of this in the customs for Dgon lung Monastery. However, we can confirm that the subject matter of this evaluation at Eren was also part of the examination system at Dgon lung. A 'test'<sup>116</sup> of candidates at Dgon lung that took place in the fourth month demonstrates that degree candidates at both monasteries were required to have mastered the same material. The extensive customary of Dgon lung tells us that "those who have not already taken<sup>117</sup> the [dharma session] exams in Madhyamaka and Perfection of Wisdom are not given the *gling bsres* [degree exam]" ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:25b.7). Later in the same text we read:

Those who wish to participate in the 'academic circuit'<sup>118</sup> of this place must test on the 'Chain of Consequences'<sup>119</sup> of both Madhyamaka and Perfection of Wisdom in front of those who have gathered together, such as the abbot, the disciplinarians, and the director of studies.<sup>120</sup> Afterwards, no matter what [they] question him on – be it all of the Special Topics<sup>121</sup> of both Madhyamaka and Perfection of Wisdom, Vinaya, Abhidharmakośa, etc. – he must never refuse, saying "Don't go there [*ma song*]<sup>122</sup>!" ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:31b.6-32a.1)

Meanwhile, the Eren customary tells us that the newly nominated candidate was to be evaluated on Perfections of Wisdom topics and Madyamaka topics. Thus, at both Eren and Dgon lung monasteries, examinees had to prove their abilities in the Perfection of Wisdom and Madhyamaka philosophies. We also know that *some* familiarity with the more advanced material of Abhidharma<sup>123</sup> and Vinaya<sup>124</sup> was expected, since the Eren customary informs us that degree candidates were ultimately tested on "each

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<sup>110</sup> *dge skos*; Regional: *dge skul*.

<sup>111</sup> *bsod btags legs pa*.

<sup>112</sup> *chos grwa ba*.

<sup>113</sup> *zhu dar*.

<sup>114</sup> *mjug gi 'bul dar*.

<sup>115</sup> *spyi rdzas*.

<sup>116</sup> *rgyug*, i.e., *rgyugs*.

<sup>117</sup> Lit. given. In Tibetan, the proctor 'receives' the exam that is 'offered' or 'given' by the examinee.

<sup>118</sup> *grwa skor*, i.e., degree exams.

<sup>119</sup> *thal 'phreng*. See above.

<sup>120</sup> *gzhung las pa*.

<sup>121</sup> *zur skol*.

<sup>122</sup> This could also be translated as "I have not gone there," meaning "I have not studied that."

<sup>123</sup> I.e., Buddhist cosmology and metaphysics.

<sup>124</sup> I.e., traditional Buddhist law and discipline.



of the five treaties,"<sup>125</sup> and degree candidates at Dgon lung could not avoid answering questions on this material by saying "Don't go there!" Moreover, it appears that this evaluation of the candidate's mastery of these scholastic subject matters was conducted primarily by the monastery's top scholastic officers at both Eren and Dgon lung monasteries and that it *preceded* the formal debates before the entire assembly.

In Central Tibet, candidates for the highest academic degree, of *lha rams pa dge bshes*, first had to pass this stage of evaluation in front of the Dalai Lama's representative or even the Dalai Lama himself (Dreyfus 2003:257):

Candidates would be given questions to debate with other candidates, each one taking his turn to answer and debate on each of the five texts. Though in the next two examinations one can disgrace oneself but cannot fail, failure was possible in this first examination. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama sent a few candidates back, humiliating both the candidates and the abbot who had admitted them to the Lha-ram rank.

Although the level of competition was far more intense for the pan-monastery *lha rams pa* degree candidates than it was for the *rdo rams pa* candidates at Eren, or the *dka' bcu* candidates at Dgon lung, the expectations were similar.

Once nominated, the candidate went through a process of intense scrutiny by the entire monastery before being allowed to participate in the 'defense'. The Eren customary refers briefly to 'testing' that took place at the end of the fourth month, which coincides with the latter half of the Great Spring Dharma Session. As mentioned above, Dgon lung carried out 'tests' at this point. The Great Spring Dharma Sessions was a period of heightened debate activity. Monks were already enrolled in their dharma classes, and they were participating daily in paired debate practice as well as witnessing and participating in 'formal debates' in which a single defendant would face off against a 'challenger' <sup>126</sup> or a group of challengers. The testing of degree candidates took place within this atmosphere.

At Dwags po College in Central Tibet, a Dge lugs institution that may have served as a model for Dgon lung, this period was referred to as the Ka rab Dharma Session, presumably because it was the point at which candidates for scholastic degrees were chosen (Nornang 1990:260). Dreyfus (2003:257-258) illustrates the intensity of a formal debate for a *lha rams pa dge bshes* candidate at other major monasteries of Central Tibet:

... [Candidates] defend their view in front of the whole monastery in a formal debate. One cannot fail but one can be humiliated in this difficult trial, which requires the candidate to spend up to ten hours answering questions on any topic related to the curriculum. This examination also involves a strong psychological element, since the defender stands against the entire audience (numbering several hundred to several thousand), which is expected to support and help the questioner [i.e. challenger]. When the defender hesitates in answering, the audience joins the questioner in pressuring him by loudly intoning "cir, cir, cir." If the answer is still not forthcoming, the questioner may start to make fun of the defender with the vocal support of the audience. Conversely, if the questioner falters, members of the audience may jump in and pick up the debate. At times, several questioners bombard the defender with a variety of questions. Sometimes they may join in unison as they forcefully press their points. When the defender loses, the whole audience joins the questioner in loudly slapping their hands and pointedly proclaiming, "Oh, it's finished."<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> *po ti lnga*, i.e., the five root texts of the Dge lugs curriculum, which included Vasubhandu's *Treasury of Abhidharma* (*Abhidharmakośa*) and Guṇaprabha's *Discourse on Vinaya* (*Vinaya-sūtra*).

<sup>126</sup> This is the term used by Lempert (2012).

<sup>127</sup> Lempert (2012) gives a very lively presentation and intriguing analysis of such a debate in the second chapter

Neither the Eren customary nor the Dgon lung customs explain in great detail this phase of testing and scrutinizing the candidates. In Wang IV's customary for Dgon lung, we are merely told that the director of studies<sup>128</sup> commenced the testing after having sought permission from the two disciplinarians.<sup>129</sup> He began with the "Turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma," a topic in the Perfection of Wisdom literature,<sup>130</sup> and the abbot and the disciplinarians would also take part in directly questioning the examinee. The term used to refer to the examinee, *tshogs lang*, literally 'to stand [before] the assembly', provides another clue for reconstructing this event. The Chinese scholar, Liu Shengqi, discussing the examination system for the major Dge lugs monasteries in Central Tibet, writes:

...the result of these Tshogs-langs was not an official assessment for the monks' academic degree. However, it provided the heads and all monks of this monastery with a clear view of a monk's academic performance and based on this decided whether a monk could have a degree or not, though it was a long time before he took formal graduation examinations.<sup>131</sup>

Thus, it is clear that this testing at Dgon lung consisted of formal debates in front of the entire assembly and was similar to the formal debates illustrated above by Dreyfus. We can assume that the fourth month testing at Eren followed a similar pattern.

Finally, the candidate would have his defense – his Great Formal Debate. To some extent, this was a formality. As we have seen, the degree candidates first had to be nominated by monastic officials and then evaluated and tested to ensure their fitness for candidacy. On the other hand, we have already seen the intensity of the formal debates at the monastery, with the examinee facing off against a coordinated attack by the monastery's upperclassmen and resident scholars. Therefore, we should assume that the degree candidates and the examiners (or challengers) in the Great Formal Debate were equally animated and primed for the event. Moreover, the extensive attention given to the proper comportment of participants in this defense suggests that emotions could quickly escalate and get out of control.

The words and gestures of both the candidate and the challengers in the defense are prescribed in both the Eren customary and the customs for Dgon lung Monastery. The older, extensive customary of Dgon lung goes to great length to prescribe behavior for all formal debates:

Whenever there is a formal debate, great or small, being attached to the desire for 'one's own victory',<sup>132</sup> having anger that wishes the debasement of one's opponent, as well as the defendant focusing primarily on [proposing] 'deceptive arguments';<sup>133</sup> having a smiling appearance while speaking quickly, arguing in factions, having 'conspiratorial talk'<sup>134</sup> of one's own distaste for 'debate';<sup>135</sup> in short, an 'intention'<sup>136</sup> marked by the wrongful behavior of degrading [others],

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of Discipline and Debate.

<sup>128</sup> *bla ma gzhung las pa*.

<sup>129</sup> *zhal ngo* - the manuscript has 'zha ngo'.

<sup>130</sup> The "Turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma" is a reference to the first chapter of the *Ornament* and its corresponding commentaries. The theme of this chapter is the Buddha's wisdom of knowing all modes. Commentaries spin off of the phrase 'this all-aspected variety' (*sna tshogs 'di*). I thank Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee for explaining this to me. See also Arya Vimuktiṣeṇa (vr̥tti), Haribhadra (āloka), and Maitreya (2006:3).

<sup>131</sup> Liu (n.d.), accessed 5 September 2012. This English article is said to be a translation from a Chinese article published in the 2005 volume of *China Tibetology*. I have not seen the Chinese original.

<sup>132</sup> *rang nyid rgyal ba*.

<sup>133</sup> *g.yo sgyu'i sbyor ba*.

<sup>134</sup> My translation is tentative. *phug tshangs kyi gtam*.

<sup>135</sup> *bgro gleng*.

ridiculing, [saying] hurtful words, [speaking] 'querulous words',<sup>137</sup> speaking of others' faults, revealing others' weaknesses, etc. – [all of this] should not to be done.

Meanwhile, one should have a reverence that desires the realization of truth.<sup>138</sup> One should have a compassion that desires to dispel the misconceptions of others. One should have a kindness that desires to make one's opponents understand truth. While having such an intention and emphasizing scripture and 'reason',<sup>139</sup> to analyze and refute [one's opponent] in the proper fashion based on such things as the *Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition*<sup>140</sup> is a delight.<sup>141</sup> This is pure happiness ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:24a.4-24b.1).

The reference to the defendant in debate focusing on deceptive arguments relates to the lines in the Eren customary prescribing the types of responses a defendant may give, i.e., the formulaic constructions of "the reasoning is [or is not] connected," or "there is [or there is not] any connection." Thus *both* the defendant's comportment *and* that of the challenger(s) were of concern.

Lempert explains that such 'querulous words' were actually a regular part of debate:

Warnings about taking debate's martial idiom literally were conveyed to me with some urgency when I first visited Sera Mey. I was cautioned about the 'bad words' (*tshig nyen*) I might hear in the debating courtyard, like 'idiot' (*lkugs pa*) and 'donkey' (*bong gu*). Technically, such words are not permitted but slip out (*shor ba*) anyway, one monk explained. Doctrinally, consequences catalyze learning in defendants, but the kinesic accompaniments iconically figure this method as a kind of violence.<sup>142</sup>

The rules of comportment applied equally or even more during the defenses of degree candidates. Again, the extensive customary of Dgon lung elaborates:

... only one monk [is examined] at a time, and the formal debate is to last up to three days.<sup>143</sup> As for those doing the questioning,<sup>144</sup> except for a few particular [cases of] elders who are in poor health, every single one of the *dka' rab 'byams* scholars on the monastery's roster<sup>145</sup> are to inspire intelligent debate. Moreover, they are not to employ any covert deceit, any misleading strategies, or spurious topics in their questioning. Even if they do employ these, they are not to do improper acts that destroy the Teachings. The disciplinarians are to distinguish the good from the bad [debate]. After the *dka' rab 'byams* scholars have finished, the classes go each in turn.

Next year's *gling bsres ba* are to begin formal debating at the dharma sessions beginning at this year's Great Prayer Festival.<sup>146</sup> All candidates for titles<sup>147</sup> are as described above. [The monastery]

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<sup>136</sup> *kun slong*.

<sup>137</sup> *shags ngan*.

<sup>138</sup> *don rtogs pa*.

<sup>139</sup> *lung rigs*.

<sup>140</sup> *tshad ma sde bdun*.

<sup>141</sup> *tsha gad*. This gloss is a conjecture.

<sup>142</sup> Lempert (2012:56).

<sup>143</sup> Here we see that the duration of the defense – three days – is the same in both the Dgon lung customary and the Eren one. The only peculiarity is that the Eren customary prescribes two three-day periods, one in the first month and another in the sixth month, whereas the Dgon lung customaries specify that such defenses are to be held in the sixth month. However, the line in the extensive customary of Dgon lung requiring that degree candidates are to begin formal debating "at the dharma sessions beginning at this year's Great Prayer Festival" seems to indicate that Dgon lung's degree candidates also participated in defenses or at least formal debates during both the first month and the sixth month.

<sup>144</sup> *rigs lung byed mkhan*. This term is synonymous with '*rigs lam pa*' (Dreyfus 2003:211).

<sup>145</sup> *dgon pa'i sgrigs 'og tu yod do cog*.

<sup>146</sup> *smon lam*.

must not depart from the [practice of] wise one's leading debate and so forth, whereby only a little talk would take place [and one would earn a degree]. [Such] bad customs of awarding degrees must not be established... ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:25b.6-26a.4)

The defense was the culmination of conferring degrees, preceded by the nomination and formal testing, not to mention the months and years of review and examination. It was thus important to ensure that it remained a formal, solemn affair. At the major Dge lugs monasteries of Central Tibet, the Great Formal Debate eventually took on trans-regional and even political significance. There, the event occurred during the Great Prayer Festival of the New Year and involved candidates from multiple, major, scholastic institutions. As Dreyfus (2003:258) writes, "its importance goes well beyond the boundaries of the tradition, as thousands of pilgrims came to Lhasa to attend this festival." In that sense, the importance of the defenses held at Dgon lung and Eren paled in comparison. Nonetheless, we know that the reputations of successful *rdo rams pa* and *dka' bcu* candidates were significant both locally and regionally, since biographies and histories never fail to affix these titles to the names of those individuals who earned them. In addition, these titles may have carried the prestige of earlier times, when Dge lugs adherents had not yet systematized and centralized scholarly titles (see Dreyfus 2003:144-145 and Tarab 2000:18-19).

Far from Central Tibet, the defenses at monasteries such as Dgon lung and Eren had to be carried out appropriately. This explains the numerous rules specifying appropriate language and behavior. It also explains the normative, ideological backdrop to the defenses, namely, that everything be done to promote learning and understanding and to benefit the Buddha's Teachings more generally. The passage above from the extensive customary of Dgon lung also warns against awarding degrees without going through this process of debate ("whereby only a little talk would take place"),<sup>148</sup> since a proper debate was of benefit, not just to the candidate but to the entire gathered assembly. He describes the process for awarding 'honorary degrees',<sup>149</sup> a phenomena that may have existed at Eren Monastery. The only monks permitted to request and receive such degrees were those from other monasteries who were suddenly required to leave the monastery to attend to other business. Dgon lung's own resident monks were not. This may have been a way to attract renowned lamas and scholars with fame and money from elsewhere while simultaneously maintaining the integrity of its education system.

"As for the process of [awarding] honorary degrees," he writes:

[They] do not need to engage in formal debate. On top of giving five 'community teas', they must 'speak from between the pillars' [in the assembly hall]<sup>150</sup> as if they were standing and debating<sup>151</sup> ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:32a.3. Emphasis added.).

The petition for honorary degree comes at a price:

[Honorary] degree [seekers] must offer a minimum of one horse to the abbot. To the congregation of monks, two community teas and a mid-morning meal.<sup>152</sup> They must give an extensive *nam gzha*g offering.<sup>153</sup> And to [the monastery's] 'beneficial endowment'<sup>154</sup> an ounce<sup>155</sup> of silver.

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<sup>147</sup> *ming btags byed mi*.

<sup>148</sup> See above.

<sup>149</sup> *ming btags zur pa*.

<sup>150</sup> My translation is tenuous. The idea seems to be that the petitioners for honorary degrees are required to give a lecture in the assembly hall. The Tibetan is '*ka par nas bshad pa*'.

<sup>151</sup> *tshogs langs lugs bzhin*.

<sup>152</sup> *tshab grwa*. *Tshigs mdzod chen mo* 'Great Chinese-Tibetan Dictionary' defines '*tsha gra*' as "the *tsampa*

The arrival of an individual seeking an honorary degree meant instant wealth for the monastery and helped line the robes of its officials,<sup>156</sup> but there was a trade-off. The congregation would not have the opportunity to witness and participate in the grilling of a degree candidate. Therefore, this section of Dgon lung's customary concludes as follows:

If there are no individuals seeking a normal<sup>157</sup> [i.e., not an honorary] degree, then the *dka' ram* scholars or whoever is appropriate are to engage in a great formal debate<sup>158</sup> as is traditionally done ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:32a.4).

Such prescriptions did not guarantee that the debate and examination system was not abused or violated. Conversely, they likely reflect the actual existence of such departures from the ideal. Nonetheless, the very existence of hundreds or even thousands of such customaries, many of them composed by lamas from major institutions such as Dgon lung for smaller and sometimes distant assemblies of monks (or laypeople), illustrates the means by which sectarian and monastic orthodoxies and orthopraxies took shape.

## CONCLUSION

Dgon lung was a site of unparalleled influence during the first century of its existence. By the end of the nineteenth century, the monastery was literally in ruins, and other monasteries in A mdo, such as Bla brang, had long since taken over the principal role of 'local center' of Dge lugs scholasticism. Nonetheless, there were persistent efforts to renew scholasticism and monastic practice of ritual. The monastery continued to offer guidance to other monasteries, including its own branch monasteries in Dpa' ris and institutions far away in the eastern parts of Inner Mongolia, such as Eren Monastery.

Remarkable continuity exists in scholastic practices extending from Sgo mang College in Central Tibet, to Dgon lung in far northeastern Tibet, to Eren Monastery. The Wang incarnation lineage, one of the five major incarnation lineages at Dgon lung, maintained ties with patrons and religious adherents over several lifetimes. Wang Khutugtu IV, the protagonist in this essay, visited various banners in eastern Mongolia on several occasions. He spent over a quarter of his life living there and composed at least two customaries in his later years, one for Eren Monastery in eastern Mongolia, and another, lengthier customary for Dgon lung. These texts explain the necessary steps for maintaining a Dge lugs monastery complete with a system of examinations for degree candidates. The sectarian identity of these monasteries is implicit throughout these texts that describe the hymns that are to be recited (in the Dgon lung customary) and the treatises about which students are to discuss, debate, and be examined. I contend that Dgon lung Monastery functioned as an outpost of Dge lugs

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allotted to monks during the Great Prayer Festival by the Tsampa Office of the former regional government of Tibet" (Zhang 2008:2242). However, here, I surmise that the term is related to *tsha rting* 'mid-morning'. I thank Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee for suggesting this. See the possibly related term '*tsha bzhed*' in 'Jigs med ye shes grags pa (1737:31b.5).

<sup>153</sup> On "extensive *rnam gzhag*," "abridged *rnam gzhag*," and so on, see Sullivan (2013:199-200).

<sup>154</sup> *phan theb*.

<sup>155</sup> *srang*.

<sup>156</sup> Rgya sras adds here that "if there is an 'extensive *rnam gzhag* offering, the abbot and former abbots are all to receive 'great *rnam gzhag*' offerings each" ('Jigs med ye shes grags pa 1737:32a.5). On *rnam gzhag* offerings at Dgon lung, see Sullivan (2013).

<sup>157</sup> *kyus* < *dkyus*.

<sup>158</sup> *dam bca' chen mo*.

evangelism even in its time of decline.

An implication of this study has been to further challenge the reification of the boundaries separating Mongolia from Tibet. Historians have witnessed and analyzed the role of Mongols in the history of both China and Tibet. However, as Diemberger and Uradyn Bulag have pointed out, the great majority of these works have fallen "in the school of evidential scholarship, examining the religious and literary influences of the Tibetans upon the Mongols" (2007:1-2). A closer look at the regular, historic interaction between such places as Inner Mongolia and its immediate neighbor to the west and southwest, Amdo, has been stifled by what Diemberger and Bulag call a, "conceptual segregation ... aided as much by historical communist hostility to religion as by the use of the nation-state as the major reference of scholarship and research" (Bulag and Diemberger 2007:2). Wang Khutugtu was not the only connection Dgon lung had with Mongolia. In fact, *all five* of the major incarnation lineages at Dgon lung had extensive ties throughout Inner Mongolia.

Our review of this Dge lugs scholastic network contributes to the recent renewal of scholarly interest in Tibetan-Mongolian exchanges. Finally, I hope that the attention I have paid to the details of the examination system at Eren Monastery may facilitate future research on the consistency and divergence of monastic practice that took place over the centuries and across the vast Tibetan Plateau and beyond.

#### APPENDIX ONE: NAMES OF TEXTS

*Composition that Binds the Many Mantrikas to Discipline: A Beautiful Ornament for the Community;*

*sngags mang la khrims su bca' ba'i yi ge 'dus sde mdzes rgyan* སྔགས་མང་ལ་ཁྲིམས་སུ་བཅའ་བའི་ཡི་གེ་འདུས་ལྷན་  
མཛེས་རྒྱན་

*Customary for Mantrikas; sngags rnams kyi bca' yig* སྔགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཡིག་

*Four Interwoven Annotations on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment; lam rim mchan bzhi*

*sbrags ma* ལམ་རིམ་མཆན་བཞི་སྔགས་མ

*Ocean Annals; deb ther rgya mtsho* དེབ་ཐེར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་

*Ornament of Realization; mngon rtogs rgyan* མངོན་རྟོགས་རྒྱན་

*Profound and Secret Golden Key of a Hundred Doors to [Buddhist] Treatises; bstan bcos sgo brgya*

*'byed pa'i zab zing gser gyi sde mig* བསྟན་བཅོས་སྟོན་བརྒྱུ་འབྱེད་པའི་ཟབ་ཟིང་གསེར་གྱི་སྟེ་མིག་

*The Customary of the Mirror that Illuminates [What Should Be] Accepted and Rejected; bca' yig*

*blong dor gsal ba'i me long* བཅའ་ཡིག་བློང་དོར་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་

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'a འ	Ba bOng chos rje བ་བོང་ཆོས་རྗེ
'Bras spungs འབྲས་སྤྲུངས་	Ba bzang བ་བཟང་
'Bras spungs Sgo mang འབྲས་སྤྲུངས་སྒོ་མང་	Ba rdzong ri lang བ་རྫོང་རི་ལང་
'Bri འབྲི	Ba yan rdzong བ་ཡན་རྫོང་
'cham འཆམ	Badaoshan 八达山
'don chos spyod འདོན་ཆོས་སྟོད་	bagua 八卦
'dul ba'i bkod gzhung rgyas pa འདུལ་བའི་བཀོད་གཞུང་རྒྱས་པ་	baihu 百户
'Dul ba'i mdo tsa ba འདུལ་བའི་མདོ་ཙ་བ་	Baima Si 白马寺
'Dzam gling spyi bsang འཛམ་གླིང་སྤྱི་བསང་	Baima Tianjiang 白马天将
'dzin grwa gong nas bzhed srol yod འཛིན་གྲ་གོང་ནས་བཞེད་སྟོལ་ཡོད་	Ban de rgyal བན་དེ་རྒྱལ་
'e ren འེ་རེན་	Ban Guo 班果
'Gag rdo rtags འགག་རྫོག་རྟགས་	Bang rgya བང་རྒྱ
'gro འགོ	bankang 板炕
'Jigs med ye shes grags pa འཇིགས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲགས་པ་	Bao Shiyuemei 鲍十月梅
'Ju lag འརྱ་ལག་	Bao Sibeihua 鲍四辈花
'tshogs gleng ཆོགས་གླེང་	Bao Yizhi 鲍义志
A Chaoyang 阿朝阳	Bao'an, Bonan 保安
A Jinlu 阿进录	baobei 宝贝
A khu 'Jigs med ཨ་ཁུ་འཇིགས་མེད་	Baojia 保家
A khu Blo gros ཨ་ཁུ་བློ་གྲོས་	Bazangou 巴藏沟
A lags Brag dkar tshang ཨ་ལགས་བྲག་དཀར་ཆང་	Bāzhōu/ Bazhou 巴州
A mdo ཨ་མདོ་	bca' yig chen mo བཅའ་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་
A myes Ba rdzong ཨ་མྱེས་བ་རྫོང་	Bcu ba'i lnga mchod བཅུ་པ་འི་ལྔ་མཆོད་
A myes Btsan rgod ཨ་མྱེས་བཙན་རྟོད་	Beijing 北京
A myes Gnyan chen ཨ་མྱེས་གཉན་ཆེན་	Ben Chengfang 贲成芳
A Rong 阿荣	Binkangghuali, Binkanggou 本康沟
Āchái 阿柴	bgro gleng བགོ་གླེང་
ahong 阿訇	Bi Yanjun 毕艳君
Alai 阿来	Bingling Si 炳灵寺
Alashan 阿拉善	binkang/ Binkang, 'bum khang འབྲུམ་ཁང་
An Liumei 安六梅	benkang 本康
Anjia 安家	Bis ba mi pham ngag dbang zla ba བིས་བ་མི་ཕམ་ངག་དབང་བླ་བ་
Āxià 阿夏	bka' བཀའ་
	bka' bcu བཀའ་བཅུ་

*bka' rgya ma* བཀའ་རྒྱུ་མ  
*Bka' rtse stong* བཀའ་རྩེ་སྟོང་  
*Bkra shis 'bum 'khyil* བླ་བྱང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབྲུམ་འབྲིལ་  
*Bkra shis lhun po* བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལུན་པོ་  
*Bkra shis sgo mang* བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མང་  
*Bla brang* བླ་བྱང་  
*Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil* བླ་བྱང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབྲིལ་  
*bla ma* བླ་མ་  
*bla ma dge skos rnams nyis thad ka thad ka'i*  
*rgyug len pa dang / gsar du 'jog pa*  
*sogs being bskul gyi do dam gang drag*  
*byed* བླ་མ་དགོས་སྒྲིལ་ཆུ་མཚན་ཅིས་ཐད་ཀ་ཐད་ཀ་ལི་རྒྱུག་ལེན་པ་  
དང་། གསར་དུ་འཛིན་པ་སོགས་བཅིང་བསྐྱུལ་གྱི་དོན་མ་གང་དག  
བྱེད།  
*bla ma gzhung las pa* བླ་མ་གཞུང་ལས་པ་  
*bla ma khri pa* བླ་མ་ཁྲི་པ་  
*bla spyi sogs khag bzhi* བླ་སྤྱི་སོགས་ཁག་བཞི་  
*blo* བློ་  
*Blo brtan rdo rje* བློ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ་  
*Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khrim, Wang*  
Khutugtu ལུང་རྒྱུ་ཐོག་ལྷ་བློ་བཟང་འཇམ་པའི་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་  
*Blo bzang bstan 'dzin* བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་  
*Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho* བློ་བཟང་དར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
*Blo bzang snyan grags* བློ་བཟང་སྟན་གྲགས་  
*Blo bzang tshul khrim dar rgyas rgya mtsho*  
བློ་བཟང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
*Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho* བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
*Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho, Lcang skya IV*  
ལུང་རྒྱུ་བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
*blo rigs* བློ་རིགས་  
*blo rtags gnyis* བློ་རྟགས་གཉིས་  
*blon po* བློན་པོ་  
*Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang chos*  
lugs zhib 'jug tshan pa'i 'bras spungs  
dgon dkar chag rtsom sgrig tshogs  
chung བོད་རྫོངས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་ཁང་ཚས་ལུགས་ཞིབ་

འཇུག་ཚན་པའི་འབྲས་སྤྲངས་དགོན་དཀར་ཆག་ཙོམ་གླིག་ཚོགས་  
ཆུང་  
*Bod skor* བོད་སྐོར་  
*Bon* བོན་  
*bong gu* བོང་གུ་  
*Brag dgon zhabs drung* འབྲག་དགོན་ཞབས་རྩུང་  
*brtsi bzhag* བརྩི་བཞག་  
*bsam 'byed* བསམ་འབྱེད་  
*Bsam blo khang tshan* བསམ་བློ་ཁང་ཚན་  
*Bsam gtan sbyin pa* བསམ་གཏན་སྤྱིན་པ་  
*bsang* བསང་  
*bsang mchod* བསང་མཚོད་  
*bsdus 'bring* བསྐྱུས་འབྲིང་  
*bsdus chung* བསྐྱུས་ཆུང་  
*bsdus grwa* བསྐྱུས་གྲ་  
*bsdus grwa che chung* བསྐྱུས་གྲ་ཆེ་ཆུང་  
བསེ་  
*bsgro gleng* བསྐྱོ་གླེང་  
*bshad grwa* བཤད་གྲ་  
*bshad sgrub bstan pa'i byung gnas*  
བཤད་སྐྱབ་བསྟན་པའི་བྱུང་གནས་  
*bskang gso* བསྐྱང་གསོ་  
*bsod btags legs pa* བསོད་བཏགས་ལེགས་པ་  
*Bsod noms mgon po* བསོད་ནམས་མགོན་པོ་  
*Bstan pa chos 'byor* བསྟན་པ་ཚས་འབྱེར་  
*Bstan pa chos 'phel* བསྟན་པ་ཚས་འཕེལ་  
*Bstan pa rgya mtsho* བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
*btsan khang* བཅེན་ཁང་  
*btsan par ma* བཅེན་པར་མ་  
*btsan po* བཅེན་པོ་  
*Btsan po Don grub rgya mtsho* བཅེན་པོ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
*Btsan po no mon han/ Btsan po no min han*  
བཅེན་པོ་ཚོ་མཚན་ཏན་/ བཅེན་པོ་ཚོ་མིན་ཏན་  
*Btsan rgod* བཅེན་རྟོད་  
*Bu su he* བུ་སུ་ཧེ་  
*Bu'u hrin* བུ་འུ་མིན་  
*Bya khyung* བྱ་ཁྱུང་

Byams pa nor bu བྱམས་པ་ནོར་བུ  
 Byang chub བྱང་ཆུབ  
 Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams  
     cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam  
     བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་དམར་ཁྲིད་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་བ  
     སྟོད་པའི་བདེ་ལམ  
 Byang du lhag pa བྱང་དུ་ལྷག་པ  
 Byang rar du spen pa བྱང་རར་དུ་སྤྲོན་པ  
 Byang thang བྱང་ཐང  
 Bza' ri tshang བཟའ་རི་ཆང  
 bzlog pa བཟླག་པ  
 Cai Jingping 蔡金萍  
 Cai Yong'e 蔡永峨  
 Cha yas ཇམ་ཡས  
 chab ril pa ཇམ་རིལ་པ  
 Cháhǎnménggǔ'ér 察罕蒙古尔  
 chang ba lu ཇམ་བ་ལུ  
 Chang Ping 常平  
 Chang'an 长安  
 Chen Mei 陈镁  
 chen po hor gyi yul ཆེན་པོ་རྟོན་གྱི་ཡུལ  
 Chengde 承德  
 Chenjia 陈家  
 Chenjiaola 陈交拉  
 Chileb, Chile 赤列  
 Chinan Dewen Zanpu 赤南德温赞普  
 Chinan Dewen 赤南德温  
 Cho 'phrul ཇོ་འཕྲུལ  
 Chongli 崇礼  
 chos grwa ཇོས་གྲ་  
 chos grwa ba/ pa ཇོས་གྲ་བ/པ  
 chos lugs pa ཇོས་ལུགས་པ  
 chos mtshams ཇོས་མཚམས  
 chos r(w)a ཇོས་ར་ཇོས་རྒྱ  
 chos rje ཇོས་རྗེ  
 Chos skor ཇོས་སྐོར  
 chos thog ཇོས་ཐོག

chos thog snga ma'i rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs chos  
     thog rjes mar dka' ram ma gtog pa  
     thams cad la len zhing ཇོས་ཐོགས་སྐུ་མའི་རྩིས་  
     བཞག་གི་རྒྱུགས་ཇོས་ཐོག་རྗེས་མར་དཀའ་རམ་མ་གཏོག་པ་ཐམ  
     ས་ཅད་ལ་ལོན་ཞིང  
 chu bdag ཇུ་བདག  
 Chu bzang ཇུ་བཟང  
 Chuanhuang Erlang 川黄二郎  
 Chuankou 川口  
 Ci byed du song ཅི་བྱེད་དུ་སོང  
 Ci si khe ཅི་སི་ཁེ  
 Cin ci dmag ཅིན་ཅི་དམག  
 Co ne ཅོ་ནེ  
 Cu'u hrin ཅུ་ལྷུ་ཁྲིན  
 Cuī Yǒnghóng 崔永红  
 d+ha rma bu ti lba rta ལྷ་མ་བུ་ཏི་ལ་ར་རྟ་  
 da das ད་དས  
 Daban 达坂  
 Dádá 达达  
 Daihai 岱海  
 Dala 达拉  
 dam bca' དམ་བཅའ  
 dam bca' chen mo དམ་བཅའ་ཆེན་མོ  
 Damajia 大马家  
 Dámín 达民  
 Dan tig དན་ཏིག  
 dang po དང་པོ  
 Danma 丹麻  
 Danyan, Luoergou 洛儿沟  
 daoren 道人  
 Dar rgya དར་རྒྱ  
 Dar rgya ri lang དར་རྒྱ་རི་ལང  
 Darkhan, dar han དར་ཀན  
 Dasi 大寺  
 Dàtóng 大同  
 Dàtōng, Datong 大通  
 Datong he 大通河

Datongping 大墩坪  
 dbu mdzad དབུ་མཛད  
 dbus gtsang དབུས་གཙང་  
 Dbyen bsdums དབྱེན་བསྐྱུམས་  
 de'i 'phror gang len zhig tu long dgos babs la  
     ltas nas longs དེའི་འཕྱར་གང་ལེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་ལོང་དགོས་  
     བབས་ལ་ལྷས་ནས་ལོངས་  
 Deng Sangmei 邓桑梅  
 Deng Xinzhuangmei 邓新庄花  
 Dengjia 邓家  
 Dga' ldan དགའ་ལྷན་  
 Dga' ldan byams pa gling  
     དགོན་ལྷངས་དགའ་ལྷན་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་  
 Dga' ldan pho brang དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་  
 dge ldan bstan 'bar ma'i dbu bskul  
     ba དགེ་ལྷན་བསྐྱུང་འབར་མའི་དབུ་བསྐྱུལ་བ་  
 Dge དགེ  
 Dge ldan དགེ་ལྷན་  
 Dge lugs དགེ་ལུགས་  
 dge skos དགེ་སྐོས་  
 dge skul དགེ་སྐུལ་  
 Dgon lung དགོན་ལུང་ (Rgulang, Guolongsi 郭隆寺,  
     Erh-ku-lung, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁)  
 Dgon lung bca' yig chen mo དགོན་ལུང་བཅའ་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་  
 Dgon lung byams pa gling དགོན་ལུང་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་  
 dgon pa spyi དགོན་པ་སྤྱི་  
 dgon pa'i sgrigs 'og tu yod do cog དགོན་པའི་  
     སྤྱིགས་འགྲུ་ཡོད་དོ་ཅོག་  
 Dgra lha bcu gsum དག་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་  
 Dgu དགུ་  
 Dgu chu དགུ་ཚུ་  
 dīdī 的的  
 dka' bcu rab 'byams pa དཀར་བར་རབ་བྱམས་པ་  
 dka' bcu དཀར་བརྒྱ་  
 dka' rab 'byams དཀར་རབ་བྱམས་  
 dka' ram དཀར་རམ་  
 dka' rams དཀར་རམས་

dkar yol དཀར་ཡོལ་  
 Dkon mchog bstan pa rab  
     rgyas དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྐྱུན་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་  
 Dkon mchog dar rgyas དཀོན་མཆོག་དར་རྒྱས་  
 Dkon mchog skyabs དཀོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་  
 dkyus དཀྱུས་  
 Dmag dpon pi tsi ri lang དམག་དཔོན་པི་ཅི་རི་ལང་  
 dmag rtsed དམག་རྩེད་  
 Dmar gtsang དམར་གཙང་  
 Dmar gtsang brag དམར་གཙང་བྲག་  
 Dmar gtsang rta chen po དམར་གཙང་རྟ་ཆེན་པོ་  
 Dme དམེ  
 Dme shul དམེ་ཤུལ་  
 Dngul rwa དངུལ་རྩ་  
 Don 'grub འོན་འགྲུབ་  
 don rtogs pa འོན་རྟོགས་པ་  
 Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho འོན་ཡོད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
 Dong Yongxue 东永学  
 Dongdanma 东丹麻  
 Donggou 东沟  
 Donghe 东和  
 Dongshan 东山  
 Dongxiang 东乡  
 Dor bhi tis bang འོར་བྷི་ཏིས་བང་  
 Dor rdo འོར་རྩོ་  
 Dor sde འོར་སྡེ་  
 Dor skad འོར་སྐད་  
 Dor tis འོར་ཏིས་  
 Dou Guanbaonuer 窦官保女儿  
 Dòu Wényǔ 窦文语  
 dou 斗  
 Doujia 窦家  
 Dpa' ris དཔའ་རིས་  
 Dpa' ris ba དཔའ་རིས་བ་  
 Dpa' ris tshe ring don 'grub དཔའ་རིས་ཆེན་འོད་འོན་འགྲུབ་  
 Dpal chen stobs rgyas དཔལ་ཆེན་སྐྱབས་རྒྱས་  
 Dpal ldan bkra shis དཔལ་ལྷན་བརྒྱ་ཤིས་



Dpal ldan dar rgyas དཔལ་ལྷན་དར་རྒྱས  
 Dpal rtse rgyal དཔལ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ  
 Dpal snar thang gi bca' yig 'dul khrims dngos  
     brgya 'bar ba'i gzi 'od [dang / rwa  
     sgreng / dgon lung byams pa gling  
     dgon ma lag bcas kyi bca' yig]  
     དཔལ་སྐྱར་ཐང་གི་བཅའ་ཡིག་འདུལ་བྱིས་དངོས་བརྒྱུ་འབར་བ  
     འི་གཟི་འོད་དང་། རུ་སྤྱང་། དགོན་ལུང་བྱམས་པ་སྤྱིང་དགོན་མ་  
     ལག་བཅས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཡིག་།  
 Dpung nge ri lang དཔུང་ངེ་རི་ལང  
 Dri med yon tan འི་མེད་ཡོན་ཏན  
 drug ba ལྷག་བ  
 Dū Chángshùn 杜常顺  
 Du Jinbaohua 杜金保花  
 Duluun, Baiya 白崖  
 Dung dkar ལྷུང་དཀར  
 Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las  
     ལྷུང་དཀར་ལྷོ་བཟང་འཕྲིན་ལས  
 dur mchod ལྷུར་མཆོད  
 Durishidii, Duoshidai 多士代  
 dus chen ལུས་ཆེན  
 Duwa, Duowa 多哇  
 Dwags po ལྷགས་པོ  
 E Shuangxihua, Nuo Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花  
 E'érdān 额尔丹  
 Ershisanhao 二十三号  
 fala 法拉  
 fan 幡  
 Fangtuu, Qianbangou 前半沟  
 Farishidin, Xingjia 星家  
 Faxian 法显  
 Fojiao 佛教  
 Foorijang, Huoerjun 霍尔郡  
 Fujia, Hulijia 胡李家  
 g.yang གཡང  
 g.yang 'bod གཡང་འབོད  
 G.yang can rdo rje གཡང་རོད་རྩེ

g.yo sgyu'i sbyor ba གཡོ་སྐུའི་སྤྱོར་བ  
 gab gzahags གཁ་གཞགས  
 gab gzahags na thong གཁ་གཞགས་ན་ཐོང  
 Gamaka 尕马卡  
 Gan'gou, Gangou 甘沟  
 ganda 干大  
 Ganjia 甘家  
 Gannan 甘南  
 Gānsù, Gansu 甘肃  
 Gansu xin tongzhi 甘肃新通志  
 Gānsù-Qīnghǎi-Níngxià 甘肃-青海-宁夏  
 Ganzhou 甘州  
 Gaochang 高昌  
 Gaodian 高店  
 Gāozǔ 高祖  
 Gar rtse sdong གར་རྩེ་སྤོང  
 Gashari 尕沙日  
 Gcan tsha གཅན་ཅཱ  
 Gcan tsha གཅན་ཅཱ།, Jianzha 尖扎  
 Gdugs dkar གདུགས་དཀར  
 Ge sar གེ་སར  
 Ge sar dmag gi rgyal po གེ་སར་དམག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ  
 Ge sar tshi me གེ་སར་ཅི་མེ  
 Gélètè 格勒特  
 Gèrìlètú 格日勒图  
 Glang dar ma གླང་དར་མ  
 gling bsres གླིང་བསྐྱེས  
 gling bsres ba གླིང་བསྐྱེས་བ  
 gling bsres dka' bcu གླིང་བསྐྱེས་དཀར་བཅུ  
 Gling bza' thar mdo skyid གླིང་བཟང་ཐར་མདོ་སྐྱིད  
 glo གློ  
 Glu rol གླུ་རོལ  
 gnas bdag གནས་བདག  
 gnyan གཉན  
 Gnyan chen གཉན་ཆེན  
 Gnyan po smad cha dmar can གཉན་པོ་སྐད་ཆ་དམར་ཅན  
 Gnyan po'i sgar thog གཉན་པོའི་སྐར་ཐོག

Gnyan thog གཡན་ཐོག  
 Gnyan thog 'brog གཡན་ཐོག་འབྲོག  
 Gnyan thog la kha གཡན་ཐོག་ལ་ཁ  
 Gnyan thog mkhar གཡན་ཐོག་མཁར  
 Go bu me khrin གོ་བུ་མེ་ཁྲིན་བྱུ་བྱིན  
 Go bu me tu hu sun khrin གོ་བུ་མེ་རུ་ཁུ་སུན་བྱིན  
 go thang གོ་ཐང  
 Go'u sde གོ་འུ་སྡེ  
 Gol su གོ་སུ་སྤུ  
 Gong sa rin po che གོང་ས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ  
 gos sku གོས་སྐུ  
 Gru kha'i གུ་ཁཱའི  
 grwa 'gyed གྲཱ་འགྱེད  
 grwa rgyun གྲཱ་རྒྱུན  
 grwa skor གྲཱ་སྐོར  
 grwa tshang bla ma གྲཱ་ཚང་བླ་མ  
 Gsang bdag གསང་བདག  
 Gsang phu གསང་ཕུ  
 gsar གསར  
 Gser chen gzhung གསེར་ཆེན་གཞུང  
 Gser khog གསེར་ཁོག  
 gser yig གསེར་ཡིག  
 gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang  
 གསེར་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོའི་མཆན་བྱང  
 gtam dpe གཏམ་དཔེ  
 gtor ma གཏོར་མ  
 Guan Laoye 官老爷  
 Guangdong 广东  
 Guanting 官亭  
 Guanyin Pusa 观音菩萨  
 Guanzhong 官中  
 Guide 贵德  
 Guihuacheng 歸化成  
 Guishe erjiang 龟蛇二将  
 Guisui-Suiyuan 歸綏綏遠  
 Guō'érduǒ 郭尔朵  
 Guō'érduǒ dīdī' 郭尔朵的的

Guōlóng 郭隆  
 Guomari 郭麻日  
 Gushan 古鄯  
 Gusiluo 哱廝囉  
 Gyang bzhi གྱང་བཞི  
 Gyen 'dzi ri lang གྱེན་འཛི་རི་ལང  
 Gyi ling mkhar གྱི་ལིང་མཁར  
 Gza' brgyad གཙའ་བརྒྱད  
 Gza' mchog གཙའ་མཆོག  
 gzhung las pa གཞུང་ལས་པ  
 Ha Mingzong 哈明宗  
 Hai Tao 海濤  
 Haidong 海东  
 Hainan 海南  
 Haixi 海西  
 Haja, Hajia 哈家  
 Halazhigou 哈拉直沟  
 Hami 哈密  
 Hàn, Han 汉  
 Handi, Hantai 旱台  
 Hanyu Pinyin 汉语拼音  
 Haomen he 浩門河  
 Har gdong khang tshan ཧར་གདོང་ཁང་ཚན  
 Hara Bulog, Heiguan 黑泉  
 Hé-Huáng 河湟  
 Hé'ér 合儿  
 Hè'ér 贺尔  
 Hebei 河北  
 Heidinggou 黑顶沟  
 Heihu Linggunang 黑虎灵光  
 Heima Zushi 黑马祖师  
 Heishui 黑水  
 Hejia 何家  
 Helang Yexian 何朗业贤<sup>1</sup>  
 Henan 河南

<sup>1</sup> [A Tibetan name, thus the Chinese characters are conjectural.]

Heqing 合庆  
 Heyan 河沿  
 Hézhōu 河州  
 Hgarilang, Huangcaogou 黄草沟  
 Hgunbin, Kumbum, Sku 'bum Byams pa gling  
 ལྷ་འབྲུམ་བྱམས་པ་སྒྲིང་, Ta'er 塔尔  
 honghua 宏化  
 Hongnai 红崖  
 Hóngwǔ, Hongwu 洪武  
 Hóngyá 红崖  
 Hongyazigou 红崖子沟  
 hor, Hor ཁོར  
 Hor bza' hu sun khrin ཁོར་བཟའ་ཏུ་སྤྱུང་ཁྲིན  
 hor chen ཁོར་ཆེན  
 Hor dor nag po ཁོར་དོར་ནག་པོ་  
 Hor dor rta ཁོར་དོར་རྟ་  
 Hor dor rta nag po gnyan po smad char dmar  
 can ཁོར་དོར་རྟ་ནག་པོ་གཉན་པོ་སྤྲད་ཆར་དམར་ཅན  
 Hor gnyan po mung khe gan ཁོར་གཉན་པོ་མུང་ཁེ་གན  
 Hor nag ཁོར་ནག  
 Hor o chi go bu me thu me lun  
 ཁོར་ཨ་ཆི་གོ་བུ་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་ལུང་  
 Hor rgya ཁོར་རྒྱ་  
 hor rgyal ཁོར་རྒྱལ་  
 Hor se chen ཁོར་སེ་ཆེན  
 Hor spun zla ཁོར་སྤྱུན་བླ་  
 Hor tho lung ཁོར་ཐོ་ལུང་  
 Hu Fang 胡芳  
 Hu su ho ཏུ་སུ་ཁོ་  
 Hu Yanhong 胡艳红  
 Huáng 惶  
 Huangdi 皇帝  
 Huangfan 黄番  
 Huangnan 黄南  
 Huangnan zangzu zizhizhou tongjiju 黄南藏族  
 自治州统计局  
 Huangshui 湟水

Huangsi 黄寺  
 Huangyuan 湟源  
 Huangzhong 湟中  
 Huárè 华热  
 Huarin, Hualin 桦林  
 Huhehaote 呼和浩特  
 Hui 回  
 Hulijia 胡李家  
 Hún 浑  
 Hunan 湖南  
 Huolu Jiangjun 火炉将军  
 Húsījǐng 胡斯井  
 Hùzhù, Huzhu 互助  
 Huzhu Tuzu zizhi xian 互助土族自治县  
 Hxin, Hashi 哈什  
 ja khang རྒྱ་ཁང་  
 Janba, Wangjia 汪家  
 Janba Taiga, Zhanjiatai 湛家台  
 Jangja, Zhangjia 张家  
 Jangwarima, Yatou 崖头  
 Jí 吉  
 Jiading 加定  
 Jiajia 贾加  
 Jiang Kexin 姜可欣  
 Jiangsu 江苏  
 Jianwen 建文  
 Jianzha 尖扎  
 jiashen 家神  
 Jidi Majia 吉狄马加  
 Jielong 结龙  
 Jihua shengyu 计划生育  
 jihua shengyu bangongshi 计划生育办公室  
 Jiirinbuqii, Tsong kha pa རྩོད་ཁལ་པ་, Zongkaba 宗喀  
 巴  
 Jilog, Jiaoluo 角落  
 jìn 市斤  
 Jīn Yù 金玉

Jinbu, Junbu 军部  
 Jindan dao 金丹道  
 Jingning 静宁  
 Jinzimei 金子梅  
 Jishi 积石  
 Jiutian Shengmu Niangniang 九天圣母娘娘  
 jo bo ཇོ་བོ  
 juan 卷  
 Jughuari, Zhuoke 桌科  
 ka bcu ཀ་བཙུ  
 Ka dar skyid ཀ་དར་སྐྱིད  
 ka par nas bshad pa ཀ་པར་ནས་བཤད་པ  
 Ka rab ཀ་རབ  
 Kaile meiyu 开了没有  
 Kailu Jiangjun 开路将军  
 Kan lho ཀན་ལྷོ  
 Kanchow, Ganzhou 赣州  
 kang 炕  
 Kāngxī, Kangxi 康熙  
 Kemuchuer Ling, Kemuchu Ling 克木楚岭  
 kha btags ཁ་བཏགས།, hada 哈达  
 Khams ཁམས  
 Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee མཁན་པོ་ངག་དབང་དོར་ཇེ  
 khri ba bla brang ཁྲི་བ་བླ་བརྟན  
 khrid ཁྲིད  
 Khu lung ལུ་ལུང  
 khyad chos ལྟན་ཆོས  
 Khyod gang la song rgyu ལྟོད་གང་ལ་སོང་རྒྱུ  
 Khyod kha sang gang du song ལྟོད་ཁ་སང་གང་དུ་སོང  
 kla glo ལྷ་ལྷོ  
 kla klo ལྷ་ལྷོ  
 Klu 'bum tshe ring ལུ་བུམ་ཙམ་རིང  
 Klu rol ལུ་རོལ  
 klu rtsed ལུ་རེད  
 Klu'i ལུ་འི  
 klu'u ri ལུ་འུ་རི  
 Ko'u mol ri lang ཀོ་འུ་མོལ་རི་ལང

Kong Lingling 孔林林  
 Krang co hrin ཀྲང་ཙོ་མྲིན  
 Ku Yingchunlan 库迎春兰  
 Kun dga' bkra shis ཀུན་དགའ་བརྒྱ་ཤིས  
 kun slong ཀུན་སྟོང  
 Kuòduān 阔端  
 Kuxin, Huzichang 胡子场  
 kyus ལུས  
 La ལ  
 La Erhua 喇二花  
 La Nuer, Ernü 喇二女  
 lab rtse ལབ་རེ  
 Lailiao meiyu 来了没有  
 Lajia 喇家  
 Lama Tangseng, Xuanzang 玄奘  
 Lamaguan 喇嘛官  
 Langja, Langjia 浪加  
 Lanzhou 兰州  
 Lǎoyā 老鸦  
 Laoyeshan 老爷山  
 laozher 老者  
 Laozhuang 老庄  
 Lashizi Kayari (Heidinggou 黑沟顶)  
 Lawa 拉哇  
 lba ལཔ  
 Lcags mo tshe ring ལཱ་གས་མོ་ཙམ་རིང  
 Lcang skya ལཱ་སྐལ  
 Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje ལཱ་སྐལ་རོལ་པའི་རོ་རེ  
 Ledu 乐都  
 Lha babs ལྷ་བབས  
 Lha btsun Mthu stobs nyi ma ལྷ་བཙུན་མཐུ་སྟོབས་ལྷི་མ  
 lha bzo ba ལྷ་བཙོ་བ  
 Lha mo skyid ལྷ་མོ་སྐྱིད  
 lha pa, Lha pa ལྷ་པ  
 lha rams pa ལྷ་རམས་པ  
 lha rams pa dge bshes ལྷ་རམས་པ་དགེ་བཤེས  
 lha rtsed ལྷ་རེད

Lha sa ལ་ས  
 lha'i sgrub thabs ལྷའི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས  
 Lho nub du skra gcan ལྷོ་ལུབ་དུ་སྐྱ་གཅན  
 Lhor phur bu ལྷོར་ཕུར་བུ  
 Lǐ 李  
 li 里  
 Li Baoshou 李保寿  
 Li Cunxiao 李存孝  
 Li Dechun 李得春  
 Li Fumei 李富梅  
 Li Jinwang 李晉王 AKA, Li Keyong 李克用  
 Li Jinwang 李晋王  
 Li Lizong 李立遵  
 Li Peng 李鹏  
 Li Qingchuan 李青川  
 Li Xiande 李贤德  
 Li Xinghua 李兴花  
 Li Yaozu 李耀祖  
 Li Yuanhao 李元昊  
 Li yul ལི་ཡུལ  
 Li Zhanguo 李占国  
 Li Zhanzhong 李占忠  
 Li Zhonglin 李钟霖  
 Li Zhuoma 李卓玛  
 liang 兩  
 Liangcheng 凉成  
 Liángzhōu, Liangzhou 凉州  
 Liǎodōng 辽东  
 Liaoning 辽宁, 遼寧  
 libai si 礼拜寺  
 Lijia 李家  
 Limusishiden, Li Dechun 李得春  
 Lingle Huangdi 领乐皇帝  
 Lintao 临洮  
 Liu Daxian 刘大先  
 Liuja, Liujia 柳家  
 Lizong 立遵

lkugs pa ལུགས་པ  
 lnga ལྷ  
 Lnga mchod ལྷ་མཆོད  
 Lo brgya ལོ་བརྒྱ  
 Lo lha ལོ་ལྷ  
 Lo ལོ  
 Lo sar ལོ་སར  
 long ལོང  
 Long Deli 隆德里  
 longhu 龙壺  
 Lóngshuò 龙朔  
 Longwang 龙王  
 Longwang duo de difang Hezhou, Niangniang  
 duo de difang Xining 龙王多的地方河州,  
 娘娘多的地方西宁  
 Lóngwù 隆务  
 Longwu 隆吾  
 lta-tchinbu ལྷ་ཏ་ཅིན་བུ  
 Lǔ 魯  
 Lu ba go go ལུ་བ་གོ་གོ  
 Lu Biansheng, Luban Shengren 鲁班圣人  
 Lü Jinlianmei 吕金莲梅  
 Lü Shengshou 吕生寿  
 Lü Yingqing 吕英青  
 Lu Zhankui 鲁占奎  
 Luantashi, Luanshitou 乱石头  
 lugs srol ལུགས་སྒོལ  
 Lun hu khrin ལུན་ཀུ་ཁྲིན  
 lung rigs ལུང་རིགས  
 Lǔshījiā 鲁失夹  
 Ma Fanglan 马芳兰  
 Ma Guangxing 马光星  
 Ma Guorui 马国瑞  
 Ma gzhi dmag མ་གཞི་དམག  
 Ma Hanme, Ma Hanmo 马罕莫  
 Ma Jun 马钧  
 Ma ling yis མ་ལིང་ཡིས

Ma Luguya 马录古亚  
 Ma ni skad ci, Manikacha མ་ནི་སྐད་ཅི་མ་མ་ཀའ་ཅའ་  
 Ma Qiuchen 马秋晨  
*ma song* མ་སོང་  
 Ma Taohua 马桃花  
 Ma Tianxi 马天喜  
 Ma Wei 马伟  
 Ma Xiaochen 马晓晨  
 Ma Xiuying 马秀英  
 Ma Youyi 马有义  
 Ma Yulan 马玉澜  
 Ma Zhan'ao 马占鳌  
 Majia 马家  
 Majiazi 马家子  
*man ngag* མཎ་ངག་  
*mao* 毛  
 Mao Qiaohui 毛巧晖  
 Maohebu 毛荷堡  
 Maqang Tugun, Baiya 白崖  
*mchod pa* མཚོད་པ་  
 Mchod rten dkar po མཚོད་རྟེན་དཀར་པོ་  
 Mchog sgrub mtsho མཚོག་སྒྲུབ་མཚོ་  
 Mdo མདོ་  
 Mdo smad མདོ་སྐད་  
*Mdo smad chos byung* མདོ་སྐད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་  
 mdo smad kyi bshad grwa yongs kyi gtso bo  
     dgon lung gi chos sde chen po མདོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་  
     བཤད་གྲ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་དགོན་ལུང་གི་ཆོས་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་  
*mdzod btags* མཛོད་བཅུགས་  
*mdzod thag* མཛོད་ཐག་  
 Ménggǔ'ér 蒙古尔  
 Mengudzhu Менгү, джу, möngke zuu,  
     muivggae jiu  
 Menyuan 门源  
 Mgar stong rtsan མགར་སྟོང་རྩ་རྒྱ  
 Mgar stong rtsan yul zung མགར་སྟོང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་  
 Mgo 'dug tsho ba མགོ་འདུག་ཚོ་བ་

Mgo log མགོ་ལོག་  
*mi tshan* མི་ཚན་  
 miao 庙  
 Miaochuan 邈川  
 Mín 岷  
*ming btags byed mi* མིང་བཅུགས་བྱེད་མི་  
*ming btags pa* མིང་བཅུགས་པ་  
*ming btags zur pa* མིང་བཅུགས་ཟུར་པ་  
 Míng, Míng 明  
 Míng-Qīng 明清  
 Mínhé, Minhe 民和  
 Minzhu 民主  
*minzu* 民族  
*mjug gi 'bul dar* མཇུག་གི་འབྲུལ་དར་  
*mngon rtogs rgyan* མངོན་རྟོགས་རྒྱན་  
*mnyam med rje btsun tsong kha pa chen pos*  
     *mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim chen*  
     *mo'i dka' ba'i gnad rnams mchan bu*  
     *bzhi'i sgo nas legs par bshad pa theg*  
     *chen lam gyi gsal sgron* མཉམ་མེད་རྩི་བཙུན་  
     ཆོན་ལ་པ་ཆེན་པོས་མཛད་པའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་རིམ་ཆེན་མོའི་དཀ  
     ལ་བའི་གནད་རྒྱུ་མཚན་བྱ་བཞིའི་སྟོན་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་  
     པ་ཐེག་ཆེན་ལམ་གྱི་གསལ་  
*mo ba* མོ་བ་  
 Mo Fangxia 莫芳霞  
 Mo Zicai 莫自才  
*modaya* 猫大爷  
*mtshan nyid bshad pa'i grwa* མཚན་ཉིད་བཤད་པའི་གྲ་  
 Mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྟོན་  
 Mtsho sngon po མཚོ་སྟོན་པོ་  
 Mtsho snying མཚོ་སྙིང་  
*mu* 亩  
 Myang 'dus མུང་འདུས་  
 Na Chaoqing 那朝庆  
*na re* ན་རེ་  
 Na thong ན་ཐོང་

Na tsha go bkal mtshams gcod

ན་ཚ་གོ་བསྐལ་མཚམས་གཅིད

Nag chu ནག་ཚུ,

Nag chu'i kha ནག་ཚུའི་ཁ

nag po [spyod pa] skor gsum

ནག་པོ་སྤྱོད་པ་སྟོར་གསུམ

Nag po skor gsum ནག་པོ་སྟོར་གསུམ

nang chen ནང་ཆེན

nang so ནང་སོ

Nang sog ནང་སོག

Nanjia, Anjia 安家

Nanjiaterghai, Anjiatou 安家头

Nanmengxia 南门峡

Nanmuge 南木哥

Nansan, Nanshan 南山

Nanshan 南山

nenjengui, yanjiaogui 眼见鬼

Nga a khu tshang la 'gro nas ང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཚང་ལ་འགོ་ནས

Nga a khu tshang la song nas ང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཚང་ལ་སོང་ནས

Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho

ངག་དབང་མཁྱེན་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Nian Gengyao 年羹尧

Nianbo 碾伯

Nianduhu 年都乎

Niangniang 娘娘

Nijia 吕家

Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu 宁波副千户守禦

Níngxia, Ningxia 宁夏

Niuqi, Liushuigou 流水沟

Niutou Wang 牛头王

no mon han མོ་མོན་ཀན

Nongchang 农场

Nongcun hezuo yiliao baoxian 农村合作医疗保

险

Nor lda bkra shis རོ་ལ་བླ་བཀ་ཤེས

Nub byang du nyi ma ལུབ་བྱང་དུ་ཉི་མ

Nub du zla ba ལུབ་དུ་བླ་བ

Nuo Shuangxihua, E Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花

Nuojia, Ejia 鄂家

nye 'brel ཉེ་འབྲེལ

Nye sring ཉེ་སྤྱིང

Nyi ma 'dzin ཉི་མ་འཛིན

Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho ཉི་མ་འཛིན་ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

O chi go bu me thu me lun ཨོ་ཆི་གོ་བུ་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་ལུན

O chi hu sun ཨོ་ཆི་ཁུ་སུན

O hu me tu ཨོ་ཁུ་མེ་ཐུ

pA ren པཱ་རེན

Pad spungs པད་སྤུངས

Pe dpa' ri lang པེ་དཔའ་རི་ལང

Pe hu པེ་ཁུ

Pen hwa ri lang པེན་ཁྱ་རི་ལང

Per nyi ma 'dzin པེར་ཉི་མ་འཛིན

Per nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho པེར་ཉི་མ་འཛིན་ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs

ཕ་རོལ་བདུད་སྡེའི་དཔུང་ཚོགས

phan theb པན་ཐེབ

phas thi པས་ཐི

pho brang ཕོ་བྲང

phrug ཕུག

phug tshangs kyi gtam ཕུག་ཚངས་ཀྱི་གཏམ

Phun tshogs ཕུན་ཚོགས

phyag ཕུག

phying ཕྱིང

Phyug rtse chos rje ཕུག་རུ་ཅེ་ཆོས་རྗེ

Pin rkya tshi me པིན་རྒྱ་ཚེ་མེ

Ping'an 平安

Pinyin 汉语

po tho པོ་ཐོ

po ti lnga པོ་ཏི་ལྷ

Pochu mixín 破除迷信

Potala པོ་ཏ་ལ  
 Puba 普巴  
 Pudang, Pudonggou 普洞沟  
 Pudong 浦东  
 Qaghuali, Chaergou 岔儿沟  
 Qangsa, Chunsha 春沙  
 Qazi, Qiazi 卡子  
 Qi 祁  
 Qi Huimin 祁慧民  
 Qi Jianqing 祁建青  
 Qi Tusi 祁土司  
 Qi Wenlan 祁文兰  
 Qi Zhengxian 祁正贤  
 Qianhe 前河  
 qiānhùsuǒ 千户所  
 Qianjin 前进  
 Qiānlóng, Qianlong 乾隆  
 Qiao Dongmei 乔冬梅  
 Qiao Shenghua 乔生华  
 Qighaan Dawa, Baiyahe 白牙合  
 Qijia 祁家  
 Qijia Laoye 祁家老爷  
 Qílián, Qilian 祁连  
 Qiliao! Sanliao! 去了! 散了!  
 Qín 秦  
 Qīng, Qing 清  
 Qingdao 青岛  
 Qinghai yiyao weishengzhi 青海医药卫生志  
 Qīnghǎi, Qinghai 青海  
 Qinghaihua 青海话  
 Qinghaisheng Fangyizhan 青海省防疫站  
 qingkuo 青稞  
 Qinglong Tianzi 青龙天子  
 Qingming 清明  
 Qingyun 庆云  
 Quurisang Srishiji, Huayuansi 花园寺  
 Ra 𑐱

rab 'byams རབ་འབྲམས  
 rab 'byams pa རབ་འབྲམས་པ  
 Rab brtan rdo rje རབ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ  
 Rab kha རབ་ཁ  
 Rab kha gru gtong རབ་ཁ་གུ་གྲོང  
 rang bzhin gnas rigs རང་བཞིན་གནས་རིགས  
 rang nyid rgyal ba རང་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་བ  
 Rangdin, Longdong 龙东  
 Rangghuali, Longyi 龙一  
 rangpi, niangpi 酿皮  
 Rar du pa sang རར་དུ་པ་སང  
 Rar lhor mig dmar རར་ལྷོ་ར་མིག་དམར  
 rdo ram pa རྡོ་རམ་པ  
 Rdo rje 'jigs byed རྡོ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད  
 Rdo rje gdan རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན  
 rdung rgyug རད་རྒྱུག  
 Reb gong རེབ་གོང  
 Reb gong gnyan thog རེབ་གོང་གཉན་ཐོག  
 Reb gong rgan rgya རེབ་གོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱ  
 ren po che, rnbuqii, renboqie 仁波切  
 ren 人  
 Renminbi 人民币  
 Rgan rgya རྒྱ་རྒྱ  
 Rgulang, Dgon lung རག་ལུང་, Erh-ku-lung,  
 Guolong 郭隆, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁  
 rgya རྒྱ  
 Rgya bza' kong jo རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་རྗེ  
 Rgya gar rdo rje gdan རྒྱ་གར་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན  
 Rgya hor རྒྱ་ཧོར  
 Rgya tshang ma རྒྱ་ཙང་མ  
 Rgyal sras རྒྱལ་སྲས  
 Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags  
 pa རྒྱལ་སྲས་འཇིགས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲགས་པ  
 Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho  
 རྒྱལ་སྲས་དོན་ཡོད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ  
 Rgyal sras rin po che རྒྱལ་སྲས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ  
 rgyug རྒྱུག



*rgyugs* རྒྱལ་ས  
*rgyugs len pa* རྒྱལ་ས་ལོན་པ  
 Ri lang རི་ལང  
 Ri lang bcu gnyis རི་ལང་བཅུ་གཉིས  
 Ri stag རི་སྟག  
*rigs* རིགས  
*rigs lam pa* རིགས་ལམ་པ  
*rigs lung byed mkhan* རིགས་ལུང་བྱེད་མཁན  
 Rin chen sgrol ma རིན་ཆེན་སྒྲུབ་མ  
*ris med* རིས་མེད  
 Riyue Dalang 日月大郎  
*rjes gnang* རྗེས་གནང  
*rka* ཀ  
 Rka gsar ཀ་གསར  
 Rka gsar dgon dga' ldan 'dus bzang chos gling  
 ཀ་གསར་དགོན་དགའ་ལྡན་འདུས་བཟང་ཆོས་གླིང་  
*rlung rta* རླུང་རྟ་  
 Rma chu མ་ཆུ  
 Rma chu'i rab kha dngul ri'i sa bzang gri spyod  
 rab kha མ་ཆུའི་རབ་ཁ་དངུལ་རིའི་ས་བཟང་གྲི་སྟོད་རབ་ཁ  
 Rma lho མ་ལྷོ  
 RMB, Renminbi 人民币  
*rnam 'grel* རྣམ་འགྲེལ  
*rnam gzhang* རྣམ་གཞག  
 Rnam rgyal རྣམ་རྒྱལ  
*rnbuqii, rin po che* རིན་པོ་ཆེ *ren po che, renboqie*  
 仁波切  
 Rong bo རོང་བོ  
 Rong bo nang so རོང་བོ་ནང་སོ  
 Rong zom རོང་ཟོམ  
*ronghua fugui* 荣华富贵  
 Rta 'gying རྟ་འགྲིང  
*rta chen po* རྟ་ཆེན་པོ  
 Rta mgrin རྟ་མགྲིན  
*rtag gsal khyab* རྟག་གསལ་ཁྱེད  
*rtsam pa* རུམ་པ  
 Rtse khog རེ་ཁོག

*rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs* རེ་ས་བཞག་གི་རྒྱལ་ས  
*rtsod grwa* རྩོད་གྲུ  
*rtsod zla* རྩོད་བླ  
 sa ས  
*sa bdag* ས་བདག  
*Sa bdag sog po ri lang* ས་བདག་སོག་པོ་རི་ལང  
*sa dpyad pa* ས་དཔྱད་པ  
 Salar, Sala 撒拉  
 San'erjia 三二家  
 Sānchuān, Sanchuan 三川  
 Sānchuān Tǔzú 三川土族  
 Sānchuānsìlǐ 三川四里  
 Sandaohe 三道河  
 Sangjie Renqian 桑杰仁谦  
 Sde ba chos rje སྡེ་བ་ཆོས་རྗེ  
*Sde srid* Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho  
 སྡེ་སྟོན་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་  
 Se ra སེ་ར་  
 Sems mtsho སེམས་མཚོ་  
 Sems nyid, *sems nyid* སེམས་ཉིད་  
 Sems nyid sprul sku bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya  
 mtsho སེམས་ཉིད་སྤྲུལ་སྦྱབ་སྟོན་འཛིན་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་  
*sen chugs* སེན་ཆུགས་  
 Seng ge gshong སེང་གེ་གཤོང་  
 sgar སྐར་  
 Sgar thog སྐར་ཐོག་  
 Sgo dmar སྐོ་དམར་  
 Sgo dmar G.yang mo tshe ring སྐོ་དམར་གཡང་མོ་ཆེ་རིང་  
 Sgo mang སྐོ་མང་  
 Sgo mang grwa tshang སྐོ་མང་གྲུ་ཚང་  
 Sgrol ma སྒྲོལ་མ་  
*sgrub sde* སྒྲུབ་སྡེ་  
 Sha bar chos rje ས་བར་ཆོས་རྗེ་  
 Sha bar nang so ས་བར་ནང་སོ་  
 Sha Delin 沙德林  
 Sha Heshang 沙和尚  
 Shaanxi, Shǎnxī 陕西

*shags ngan* ཤགས་ངན  
 Shahai 沙海  
 Shānběi 陕北  
 Shancheng 山城  
 Shandong 山东  
 Shanghai 上海  
 Shangzhai 上寨  
 Shānxī, Shanxi 山西  
 Shanzhaojia 山赵家  
 Shanzhou 鄯州  
 Shao Yundong 邵雲東  
 Shaowa 勺哇  
 Shar Bla ma ཤར་བླ་མ  
*shar* ཤར  
 Shatangchuan 沙塘川  
 Shdanbasang, Shijiamoni 释迦摩尼  
 Shdangja, Dongjia 东家  
 Shdara Tang, Dalantan 达拉滩  
*shen jian* 神剑  
*shenfu* 神甫  
*sheng* 升  
 Shenjiao 教神  
*sheqi* 蛇旗  
 Shgeayili, Dazhuang 大庄  
 Shi Cunwu 师存武  
 Shi'er Wei Zushi 十二位祖师  
*shibei* 石碑  
 Shina 史纳  
 Shing bza' ཤིང་བཟའ  
 Shíyá 石崖  
*sho ma* ཤོ་མ  
*shor ba* ཤོར་བ  
*shuang xi* 双喜  
 Shuangma Tongzi 双马童子  
 Shuangshu 双树  
 Shuilian Dong 水帘洞  
 Shuimogou 水磨沟

Sichuan 四川  
*skabs bzhi pa* སྐབས་བཞི་པ  
 Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho  
                     སྐལ་བཟང་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཕྲིན་ལས་བླ་མཚོ  
 Skal bzang ye shes dar rgyas སྐལ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་དར་རྒྱས  
 Skal ldan rgya mtsho སྐལ་ལྷན་བླ་མཚོ  
 Sko tshi me སྐོ་ཙེ་མེ  
*skor ru* སྐོར་རུ  
*skra ka* སྐ་ཀ  
*skra phab* སྐ་ཕབ  
 Sku 'bum སྐུ་འབུམ  
 Sku 'bum byams pa gling སྐུ་འབུམ་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་  
 Skya rgya, Jiajia 贾加  
 Skyabs 'gro སྐལ་བས་འགོ  
 Skyid shod sprul sku སྐྱིད་ཤོད་སྐུ་སྐུ  
*skyor* སྐྱོར  
*skyor dpon* སྐྱོར་དཔོན  
 Smad pa སྐད་པ  
*smad phyogs* སྐད་ཕྱོགས  
*smeen, Sier* 寺尔  
 Smeen, Ximi 西米  
 Smin grol སྐྱེན་གྲོལ  
 Smin grol no min han སྐྱེན་གྲོལ་ནོ་མིན་ཏན  
 Smon lam, smon lam སྐྱོན་ལམ  
*smyung gnas* སྐྱུང་གནས  
*sna tshogs 'di* སྐ་ཚགས་འདི  
*sngags 'chang* སྐགས་འཆང  
*sngags pa* སྐགས་པ  
 Snying bo rgyal སྐྱིང་བོ་རྒྱལ  
 Snying mo སྐྱིང་མོ  
 Snying rje tshogs pa སྐྱིང་རྗེ་ཚགས་པ  
 Sog སོག  
 Sog rdzong སོག་རྫོང  
 Sog rgya སོག་རྒྱ  
*sog yul* སོག་ཡུལ  
 Song Ying 宋颖  
*song* སོང

Songchang Suzhun (Sizhun?) 耸昌厮均  
 Songduo 松多  
 Songjia 宋家  
 Songpan 松潘  
 Songrang, Xunrang 逊让  
 Spun zla hor gyi rgyal po སུན་ལྷ་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 spyi 'jog སྤྱི་འཛོག་  
 spyi rdzas སྤྱི་རྩམ་  
 srang སྲང་  
 srol སྟོལ་  
 Strong btsan sgam po སྟོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོ་  
 srung ma སྲུང་མ་  
 Stag gzig nor gyi rgyal po སྟག་གཟིག་ནོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 Stag lha rgyal སྟག་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་  
 Stobs ldan སྟོབས་ལྷན་  
 Su Shan 苏珊  
 Sughuangghuali, Suobugou 索卜沟  
 suitou 岁头  
 Suiyuan 綏遠  
 Sum pa སུམ་པ་  
 Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor  
 སུམ་པ་མཁན་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་  
 Sun Wukong 孙悟空  
 Sunbu, Songbu 松布  
 Suojie Longwang 锁脚龙王  
 Suojie Ye 锁脚爷  
 Suonan 索南  
 Suonan Cuo 索南措  
 Suzhou 苏州  
 Suzhou Xinzhi 苏州新志  
 tA si ཏཱ་སི་  
 Ta'er si 塔尔寺  
 Taishan 泰山  
 Taizi 台子  
 Tang Xiaoqing 汤晓青  
 Táng, Tang 唐  
 tangka 唐卡, thang ka ཐང་ཀ་

Tangraa, Tangla 塘拉  
 Tangseng 唐僧  
 thal 'phen ཐལ་འཕེན་  
 thal 'phreng ཐལ་འཕྲེང་  
 thal srog ཐལ་སྟོག་  
 thal zlog ཐལ་ལྷོག་  
 thang ka ཐང་ཀ་  
 theb ཐེབ་  
 Ther gang nyi wi ཐེར་གང་ཉི་མི་  
 ther gang nyi wi na thong ཐེར་གང་ཉི་མི་ན་ཐོང་  
 Thu me lun ཐུ་མེ་ལུན་  
 Thu'u bkwan ཐུ་འུ་བཀྱན་  
 Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma  
 ཐུ་འུ་བཀྱན་བློ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་  
 thun mong ma yin pa ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་  
 thun mong pa ཐུན་མོང་པ་  
 Tianjia 田家  
 Tianjin 天津  
 tianqi 天旗  
 Tiantang 天堂  
 Tianyoude 天佑德  
 Tiānzhù, Tianzhu 天助  
 To'u pa tsi ཏཱ་པ་ཙི་  
 Tongren 同仁  
 tongzi 筒子  
 tsakra bcu gsum gyi sngags blzog  
 ཙན་པ་རུ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྟགས་བལ་ཐོག་  
 tsampa, rtsam pa ཙམ་པ་  
 tsha bzhed ཙམ་བཞེད་  
 tsha gad ཙམ་གད་  
 tsha gra ཙམ་ག་  
 Tsha lu ma byin gi song ཙམ་ལུ་མ་བྱིན་གི་སོང་  
 Tsha lu ma ster gi song ཙམ་ལུ་མ་སྟེར་གི་སོང་  
 tsha ri ཙམ་རི་  
 tsha ཙམ་  
 tsha rting ཙམ་རྟིང་  
 tshab grwa ཙམ་གྲལ་

*tshad ma sde bdun* ཚད་མ་སྡེ་བདུན  
*tshang* ཚང  
 Tshe hrin yan ཚེ་རིན་ཡན  
 Tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་  
 Tshe ring don 'grub ཚེ་རིང་དོན་འགྲུབ  
 Tshe ring skyid ཚེ་རིང་སྒྲིད  
*tshi me* ཚེ་མེ  
*tshig nyen* ཚེག་ཉེན  
*tshig sgra rgyas pa* ཚེག་སྒྲུག་པ་  
*tsho ba* ཚོ་བ་  
 Tsho ཚོ  
 Tsho kha ཚོ་ཁ་  
*tshogs* ཚོགས་  
*tshogs lang* ཚོགས་ལང་  
*tshogs langs lugs bzhin* ཚོགས་ལངས་ལུགས་བཞིན་  
 Tshwa mtsho ཚྭ་མཚོ་  
 Tsi tsong ཅི་ཙོང་  
 Tso ri ri lang ཅོ་རི་རི་ལང་  
 Tso shi ri lang ཅོ་ཤི་རི་ལང་  
 Tsong kha ཅོང་ཁ་  
 Tsong kha pa ཅོང་ཁ་པ།, Zongkaba 宗喀巴  
*tszurhaitchi* цзурхайчи  
 Tū, Tu 土  
 Tūdā 土达  
 Tūfān, Tufan 吐蕃  
 Tughuan, Tuguan 土官  
 Tughuan Nengneng, Tuguan Niangniang 土官  
     娘娘  
 Tughuangang, Tuguanshan 土官山  
 Tūhún 吐浑  
 Tuìhún 退浑  
 Tūmín, Tumin 土民  
 Tuoba Yuanhao 拓跋元昊  
 Tūrén, Turen 土人  
*tūsī, tusi* 土司  
 Tutai 土台 (Sujia 苏家?)  
 Tūyùhún, Tuyuhun 吐谷浑

Tüzú, Tuzu 土族  
 Tuzuyu 土族语  
 Walighuan (Bagushan 巴古山)  
 Wang, wang 王  
 Wang chen khri བང་ཆེན་ཁྲི  
 Wang Dongmeihua 王冬梅花  
 Wang skyA བང་སྐལ་  
 Wang Tusi 汪土司  
 Wang Wenyan 王文艳  
 Wang Yanzhang 王彦章  
 Wang Yongqing 王永庆  
 Wáng Yúnfēng 王云凤  
 Wangjia 王家  
 Wànli 万历  
 Wanzi 湾子  
 Wǎqúsìlǐ 瓦渠四里  
 Weisheng jihuashengyuju 卫生计划生育局  
 Wēiyuǎn, Weiyuan 威远  
 Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈  
 Wen Xiping 文喜萍  
 Wenbu 温逋  
 Wencheng Gongzhu 文成公主  
 Wenjia 文家  
 Wentan Liaowang 文坛瞭望  
 Wu Jiexun 吴解勋  
 Wu Lanyou 吴兰友  
 Wughuang, Bahong 巴洪  
 Wujia 吴家  
 Wulan 乌兰  
 Wushi 五十  
 Wushi 梧释  
 Wushi xiang 五十乡  
 Wutun 吾屯  
 Wutun 五屯  
 Wuyangbu 威远堡  
 Wuyue Dangwu 五月端午  
 Wuyue Duanwu 五月端午

Xanjang, *xanjang*, Shancheng, *shancheng* 山城  
 Xi'an 西安  
 Xia 夏  
 Xia Guo 夏国  
 Xiahe 夏河  
 Xiakou 峡口  
 Xianbei 鲜卑  
*Xianrenmin weishengyuan* 县人民医院  
*Xianrenmin yiyuan* 县人民医院  
 Xiaosi 小寺  
 Xibu dakaifa 西部大开发  
 Xie 谢  
 Xie Yongshouhua 谢永寿花  
 Xiejia 谢家  
 Xiela 协拉  
 Xiera, Xiela 协拉  
 Xifan 西番  
 Xikouwai 西口外  
 Xin 辛  
 Xin Youfang 辛有芳  
 Xing Haiyan 邢海燕  
 Xing Quancheng 星全成  
 Xing Yonggui 邢永贵  
 Xing'er 杏儿  
*xingfu* 幸福  
 Xīníng, Xining 西宁, 西寧  
 Xining Zhi 西宁志  
 Xinjia 辛家  
 Xinxia 辛峡  
 Xiu Lianhua 绣莲花  
 Xiwanzi 西灣子  
 Xiyingzi 西营子  
 Xu Xiufu 徐秀福  
 Xuangwa, Beizhuang 北庄  
 Xuanhua 宣化  
 Xuanzang 玄奘  
 Xuānzōng 宣宗

Xue Wenhua 薛文华  
 Xunhua 循化  
 Yá'ér 崖尔  
 Yan Guoliang 闫国良  
 Yáng 杨  
 Yang Chun 杨春  
 Yang lji tsho ba ཡར་ལྷི་ཙོ་བ་  
 Yang Xia 杨霞  
 Yangda, Changshoufo 长寿佛  
 Yangja, Yangjia 杨家  
 Yangjia 杨家  
 Yangtou Huhua 羊头护化  
 Yangzi, Changjiang 长江  
 Yar klung tsang po ཡར་ཀླུང་ཙང་པོ་  
 Yar sko tsho ba ཡར་སྐོ་ཙོ་བ་  
 Yar sko ཡར་སྐོ་  
 Ye su khe ཡེ་སུ་མེ་  
 Yí 夷  
 Yi Lang 衣郎  
*yig cha gsar ba* ཡིག་ཇ་གསར་བ་  
*yig rgyugs* ཡིག་རྒྱུགས་  
 Yigongcheng 移公城  
 Ying Zhongyu 应忠瑜  
 Ying Zihua 英子花  
 Yīngzōng 英宗  
*yinyang* 阴阳  
 Yomajaa, Yaomajia 姚麻家  
 Yon tan 'od ཡོན་ཏན་འོད་  
 Yon tan rgya mtsho ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
 Yǒngchàng 永昌  
 Yǒngdèng 永登  
 Yǒnglè, Yongle 永乐, 永樂  
 Yongning 永宁  
 Yongzheng 雍正  
 Yòuníng 佑宁  
 Youning si 佑寧寺  
 Yuan, *yuan* 元

*yue* 月  
*Yul shul* ཡུལ་སྐལ་  
*yul srol* ཡུལ་སྐྱལ་  
*Yun ci dmag* ཡུན་ཅི་དམག་  
*Zan Yulan* 簪玉兰  
*Zanza* 簪扎  
*zao* 枣  
*zaoren* 枣仁  
*Zeku* 泽库  
*Zelin* 泽林  
*zha ngo* ཇཱ་ངོ་  
*zhal ngo* ཇཱ་ལ་ངོ་  
*Zhalute* 扎鲁特  
*Zhang blon bzhi* ཇཱ་ལྷོན་བཞི་  
*Zhang Chongsunhua* 张重孙花  
*Zhāng Dézǔ* 张得祖  
*Zhang Xiang* 张翔  
*Zhang Xihua* 张喜花  
*Zhang Yinghua* 张英花  
*Zhang Yongjun* 张永俊  
*Zhangjiakou* 张家口  
*Zhao Guilan* 赵桂兰  
*Zhao Jinzihua* 赵金子花  
*Zhao Xiuhua* 赵秀花  
*Zhao Xiulan* 赵秀兰  
*Zhao Yongxiang* 赵永祥  
*Zhaomuchuan* 赵木川  
*Zhejiang* 浙江  
*zhihui qianshi* 指挥僉事

*Zhili* 直隶  
*Zhong Jingwen* 钟进文  
*Zhong Shumi, Zhang Shumei* 张淑梅  
*zhongdouju* 种痘局  
*Zhu Bajie* 猪八戒  
*Zhu Changminghua* 朱长命花  
*Zhu Chunhua* 朱春花  
*zhu dar* ཇཱ་དར་  
*Zhu Ernuer, Ernü* 朱二女  
*Zhu Guobao* 朱国宝  
*Zhu Haishan* 朱海山  
*Zhu Jinxiu* 朱金秀  
*Zhu Xiangfeng* 朱向峰  
*Zhu Yongzhong* 朱永忠  
*Zhuang Xueben* 庄学本  
*Zhuānglàng* 庄浪  
*Zhujia* 朱家  
*Zhuoni* 卓尼  
*Zi ling* ཇི་ལིང་  
*zla ba dang po'i drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum*  
*gyi ring la* ཇཱ་བ་དང་པའི་དུག་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཉིན་གསུམ་  
 ཇཱ་རིང་ལ་  
*zla po byed* ཇཱ་པོ་བྱེད་  
*Zo wi ne ni* ཇོ་ཡི་ནེ་ནི་  
*Zongge* 宗哥  
*Zonggecheng* 宗哥城  
*zongjia* 天子  
*zur skol* ཇུར་སྐོལ་  
*Zushi* 祖師